S. Pennock

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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

SPEECH OF SENATOR DOOLITTLE.

[Senator Doolittle is so generally understood to reflect the Presidential policy, that there seem specially good reasons for publishing his speech, and under its appropriate head. Accounts say the galleries were crowded during its delivery, and that Gen. Grant, with many other eminent persons, was of the audience.]

Mr. Doolittle moved that the Senate proceed to the consideration of the resolution recently offered by Mr. Howe, for the establishment of provisional governments in the lately seceded States.

The motion prevailed, and the resolution was read.

Mr. Doolittle addressed the Senate at length, saying in the course of his remarks: Two radical ideas, radically false, however, brought on this civil war, which has cost the nation more than half a million of lives and untold millions of treasure. First, that States had a right to secede. Second, that slavery is a blessing. The surrender of these two ideas by the South now forms the basis of permanent peace. Sir, this question, whether those States are still States in the Union under the Constitution, is no vain abstraction—no idea without immediate practical and most grave consequences. Is it of no practical consequence whether, to adopt an amendment to the Constitution, it requires the ratification of twenty-seven or twenty-one States? Is it of no practical importance whether eleven States, with their ten millions of people, shall be taxed and governed without representation? With less than one-third of that number of people our forefathers, because the Parliament of Great Britain, in which they had no representation, passed laws to tax them, declared the independence of these States. Is it of no practical importance whether these eleven States and ten millions of people shall govern themselves under a republican form of State Government, subject only to the Constitution of the United States? or whether they shall be held as subject vassals to be governed for an indefinite period by the unlimited will of Congress or by the sword? Is it of no practical importance whether the flag of our country, for which half a million have laid down their lives, and which bears thirty-six stars as an emblem of a Union of thirty-six States, speaks a nation's truth, is a monstrous falsehood? These and many like questions are involved in this discussion, and depend upon the answer to the first. This is, therefore, in my judgment, a question of great magnitude—a question which neither men nor parties can avoid or put aside. It demands and will have an answer. It is a question, too, upon which there is and there can be no compromise and no neutrality. They are States in the Union under the Constitution or they are not. We must affirm the one or the other. We must stand upon one side supporting the Lincoln and Johnson policy of maintaining the Union of the States under the Constitution to be unbroken, or we must take our stand with the Senator from Massachusetts upon the other, and maintain that the Union is broken, that secession is a success and not a failure, so far at least as to withdraw eleven States from the Union, or reduce eleven States to the territorial condition. First, I call to mind the language of President Lincoln's proclamation of Dec. 8, 1863. In that he said: "I make known that whenever in any of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Tennessee, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and North Carolina, a number of persons not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such State at the Presidential election of the year of our Lord 1860, each having taken the oath aforesaid and not having since violated it, and being a qualified voter by the election law of the State existing immediately before the so-styled act of secession, and excluding all others, shall reëstablish a State government which shall be republican, and in nowise contravening said oath, such shall be recognized as the true government of the State, and the State shall receive the benefit of the Constitutional provision which declares that the United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion. The policy thus announced was entered upon at once in the States of Louisiana, Tennessee and Arkansas. It received the unanimous support of every member of his Cabinet. While that great man was always open to conviction and ready to hear the suggestions of others, he became more and more settled in his convictions as to the wisdom of that policy from the date of that proclamation down to the very day of his death. Sir, on the 11th of April last, he spoke to the people of Washington. It was on the occasion of the illumination, but three days before his assassination. The great army of the rebellion had surrendered. He had himself visited Richmond, where, in the very house occupied by Jefferson Davis, he had from time to time telegraphed the gladdening news of victory upon victory to a rejoicing people. He had returned from the chief seat of the rebellion to the Capital of the Union, bringing with him as the spoils of victory, not gold nor gems nor jewels, but the broken chains of four millions of slaves. In that hour of triumph, and that moment of supreme exaltation, he could not refrain, when invited, from appearing before the people to add to the general joy. Among other things he said in the annual message of December, 1863, and accompanying proclamation, 'I presented a plan of reconstruction, as the phrase goes, which I promised if adopted by any State should be acceptable to and sustained by the Executive Government of the nation. This plan was in advance submitted to the then Cabinet, and distinctly approved by every member of it—every part and parcel of the plan which has since been employed or touched by the action of Louisiana. The Senate will then remember that Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet then consisted of Mr. Seward, Secretary of State; Mr. Chase, the Secretary of the Treasury, now Chief-Justice; Mr. Stanton, Secretary of War; Mr. Welles, Secretary of the Navy; Mr. Usher, Secretary of the Interior; Mr. Blair, then Postmaster-General, and Mr. Bates, then Attorney-General. Let us remember that each and every one of those men approved every part and parcel of that policy.

Mr. Doolittle read still further from that speech, in which Mr. Lincoln gave in most forcible language the reasons which made him adhere to and cherish that policy up to the time of his death. These, he added, state the important fact that this policy was entered upon by him with the full approbation of every member of his Cabinet as to every part and parcel of that policy. I repeat, and ask the Senate and the country to hear, we have Mr. Lincoln's positive testimony that Mr. Seward approved in general and in detail. Mr. Chase approved it, and every part and parcel of it. Mr. Stanton and Mr. Welles also, who still remain in the Cabinet, fully and cordially approved it; and now, sir, I propose to show you that a higher tribunal than Congress or the Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, or the President and his Cabinet, approved and sustained that policy. The loyal people of the United States, represented at Baltimore, approved it by the renomination of Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency, and as if to make the indorsement of this part of Mr. Lincoln's policy more emphatic, Mr. Johnson was nominated for the Vice-Presidency, the very man of all others who had for a long time been engaged in the great work of reconstructing civil government in the State of Tennessee upon the basis of that policy. It was objected by some in that convention, as it is here, that Tennessee had no right to representation, but on motion of the distinguished Ex-Senator from New York, Preston King, now no more, her delegates were admitted. One of her sons, in spite of the objection of Mr. Thaddeus Stevens that he was from a foreign State, at war with the United States, and therefore an alien, was nominated for Vice-President. By those nominations that policy was sustained by the convention. The election came on. That policy and the administration which proclaimed it, and the convention which indorsed it were sustained by the people of the United States. Next to the great work of crushing the military power of the rebellion, the policy of reconstruction was dearer to Mr. Lincoln and more cherished by him than any other. No sooner had the burden of his soul been lifted—no sooner had he seen the surrender of the great army of the rebellion—than, in the fulness and gladness of his soul, he made haste to give to the people his views of the great theme of reconstruction. I have just read them in your hearing. The Senator from Massachusetts may denounce them as puerile and wanting in statesmanship but there they are and there they will remain forever—the farewell address of Lincoln to the people of the United States upon this subject of reconstruction. That Mr. Johnson, upon whom the office of President fell by the death of Mr. Lincoln, should substantially pursue the policy begun by his predecessor, was therefore not only natural, but by the logic of events almost a necessity. How could he do otherwise? Suddenly, in a moment, as in the twinkling of an eye, the load is thrown from Mr. Lincoln's shoulders upon him—his great responsibility—his duty, and why not his cherished policy? He was surrounded by the same Cabinet. Who would expect them to advise any other policy? That policy has been fully entered upon; and in some States the work was really done. Mr. Johnson had himself been long engaged in that work in aiding Mr. Lincoln to realize it in Tennessee. Beside the convention at Baltimore had sustained it. The great Union party which reelected Mr. Lincoln as President and made Mr. Johnson Vice-President had endowed it and sustained it triumphantly at the election. Mr. Johnson could not abandon it without reversing the policy of Mr. Lincoln. That policy was advised by every member of the Cabinet, including, as I have stated, among other names the very distinguished names of Mr. Seward, Mr. Stanton, and Mr. Welles, still members of the Cabinet, and of Mr. Chase, Chief-Justice, who, just from the presence of the dying President, administered to Mr. Johnson the high oath of office. How could he recall that last speech and look upon the dead body of his predecessor? How could he look in the faces of the Chief-Justice, as he swore him into office, and of those men in the Cabinet, all of whom had approved every part and parcel of that policy, and upon whom alone he could then rely for counsel and support in the most trying and difficult crisis through which any man was ever called to pass? How, I repeat, could he look upon all these surroundings, and then deliberately abandon the cherished policy of Mr. Lincoln's administration; trample upon the advice of the old members of his Cabinet, as well as of the Chief-Justice himself, abandon his well-known convictions of duty, falsify his own record and betray the great Union party which nominated and elected him, in the contingency which had happened to the President of the United States? Had he done so, the whole country would have cried out against him, and with reason. In and out of Congress men might have denounced him for betraying the public confidence, and especially for betraying the party which elected him. The Cabinet would have remonstrated against it. The last great speech of Mr. Lincoln, like a voice from his grave—an angel trumpet-tongued—would plead against it. And more than all, the President would, in my judgment, have been what Mr. Johnson was never known to be—false to his own convictions of duty. I put aside, therefore, as not worthy of consideration, the suggestions sometimes made, that Mr. Johnson, by adhering to this policy of reconstruction, is ready to betray the Union cause, or the great measures of the Union party. Having thus stated the question, and shown the ground occupied by Mr. Lincoln, and that Mr. Johnson is substantially pursuing his policy, I return to the main question, and will state as briefly as I can the main grounds upon which I stand, and the reasons I give my support to what I call the Lincoln-Johnson policy of reconstruction. Where are these eleven States, and what is their situation—and first, where are they in this Union—under the Constitution, or not? That they were once in this Union all concede. If they have gone out from this Union, it must have been by one or more of three ways. First, by the way of peaceful secession, by voting and resolving themselves out; or second, by successful revolution, by fighting their way out to a successful independence; or third, they have been put out by act of Congress. There is not, and there never has been, any other way or ways conceived or stated than one or more of these three. Strong men of the South have maintained that the first way was always open to them. They asserted the right of peaceful secession. It was always met, however; it was always overpowered by the logic of Mr. Webster in this body, and resisted by the iron will of Andrew Jackson during his administration. It has often been re-asserted in this body since I became a member, and as often met and refuted. In their folly and madness the people of the South appealed to arms to discuss the same question on the field of battle. They tried the second way, namely, by way of revolution, to cut their way out with the sword. That for a time they made fearful progress in that direction, no one denies. But did they succeed? No man, North or South, dare affirm it. No, sir, no. Thanks to the Almighty Being who rules the universe, the great Generals were found at last capable of organizing and wielding our immense forces. Grant, and Sherman, and Thomas, and Sheridan, and the great officers and brave men under their command crushed the rebellion, wrenched the sword from the hand of revolution, and then in the last tribunal known to mankind, in an appeal to the God of battles by the *ultima ratio regum*, decided, and in such a way as to leave no doubt in any sane mind North or South, that no State can go out of this Union by the way of peaceable secession, nor by way of successful revolution. They neither have the right nor the power to do so.

Mr. Doolittle said it remained to consider the only other way—the third way—which, for brevity, he would call, with no disrespect to his honorable friend from Massachusetts, the "Sumner" way, for States to go out of the Union, namely, by act of Congress; the Senator having at the funeral ceremonies here upon the death of Judge Collamer, taken occasion to announce his theory of disunion, awarding in great measure the honor, if honor it be, to the deceased of separating the rebel States from the Union.

Mr. Doolittle then showed the Southern States to be in the Union under the Constitution, and inquired what is their true situation and what rights they have and what duties devolved upon them, saying I have shown that, in view of public law, nothing can be more clear than that a State does not consist in the form of its government. That is one of its antecedents that may be democratic, aristocratic or theocratic. It may be military, it may be republican despotic or monarchical. It may have been any one of these forms, or a mixed one and yet it is a State. It may change its government every year as a tree casts off its foliage. The State no more consists of its form of government than a man consists of the garment with which he is clothed. He may change that every day. He may be stripped of any garment whatever, but still the man remains; and for a State to change its form, or for the time being to be stripped of all form of government can no more destroy its existence than is a man destroyed when he takes off one coat to put on another, or is stripped entirely of his garments. Nor is a State destroyed by the declaration of martial law in it, nor by war, unless conquered by a Foreign Power, or dismembered by revolution, and made into two or more States. To be invaded does not destroy it, if it expel the invaders. To be torn by civil war, and even be drenched in fraternal blood, does not destroy it either, unless the final issue of arms shall be against it.

In the course of his argument Mr. Doolittle said Congress not only empowered but required the President to perform a two-fold duty; one, to make war, and the other to stop making war after its end is reached—in other words, to make peace; first, to draw and wield the sword; second, after making peace, to return it to its scabbard. The first of these great duties, namely, the drawing the sword and wielding it, rested mainly upon President Lincoln, the second, namely, making peace and sheathing the sword, rests mainly upon his successor: although most fortunately for him and for the whole people, Mr. Lincoln had already entered upon the great work of reconstruction—of making peace, in order to be able after peace had come (to borrow his own beautiful language), after peace had come, and come to stay—to fulfill that other great duty imposed upon him by the laws of Congress, viz: To disband our immense army and send them home—in a word, to restore a nation's peace in a union of States and people under the Constitution, with their rights unimpaired, and after that great work, the end and object of all our struggle and sacrifices, was done, to sheath the nation's sword. While he lived, Mr. Lincoln performed these duties, and performed them well. It is true there were some mistakes in the beginning, with our inexperience and impatience the wonder is there were no more. Time was necessary to accomplish the great work, to educate the public mind, to prepare the armies and to find leaders who were capable of commanding them. How could Mr. Lincoln know, unless gifted with omniscience, that in the person of a teacher of a military academy in Louisiana was to be found that Major-Gen. Sherman, who, like God's flaming minister at the head of his [illegible], was to sweep through the heart of the rebellion? How could he know that in the quiet unostentatious citizen of Galena was to be found the great captain of the age, Lieut.-Gen. Grant, who knew when, like Fabius, to be the cloud, and, like Scipio, to be the thunderbolt of war? Thank Heaven, he found the great commanders at last, who, in God's own good time, brought the final and supreme victory over the rebellion. Thank God Mr. Lincoln was permitted to live until the first great work of crushing the rebellion was almost done, and the second hardly less important work of reconstruction was already well begun. I have already called your attention to his last public speech, just before his assassination, in which, in the fullness of a heart whose expression could not be restrained for the hope of a righteous and speedy peace, and in which, with a power of logic and clearness of statement and force of illustration never surpassed in the best efforts of that great and good man, he explained and defined and enforced this policy of reconstruction. It was at such a moment of exaltation, when the prayer of his soul was answered, when the long night of blood and agony and tears was passed, and the golden light of the morning of peace dawned upon his vision, he fell by the assassin's hand—his consciousness suspended in an instant. From the acme of human glory he passed to the glory on high from the mortal to the immortal life; a martyr to the cause of his country and of liberty to all mankind. It was what the ancient world would call an apotheosis. Thus the great office of President providentially fell upon Mr. Johnson, with all its duties and all its responsibilities. The gravest of them all know that the armed forces of the rebellion have surrendered, and it is the second grand duty of making peace and then disbanding the army. When he took the Presidency there were more than a million men upon the rolls of the army, and many of the rebel armies were still in the field.

He then considered the most important and just—at this moment, perhaps, the most practical question, namely: What were the powers and duties imposed by law upon the President in closing the war and making peace, which of necessity must precede the disbanding of the army? What terms, he asked, had the President a right to demand of the States or of the people as conditions precedent to peace and the withdrawal of the army? First, and before all, and as the basis of all, unqualified submission to the Constitution of the United States, and all laws of Congress passed in pursuance thereof. Second, the annulling of acts, laws and proceedings, by which the States made or prosecuted war against the United States, including the rebel States. Thus, acquiescence in the situation which the war has brought upon them, including the abolition of slavery, for and on account of which they made the war; for the sincerity of such acquiescence, and as the supreme test of its good faith, the adoption of the Constitutional Amendment, by which slavery, the cause of the war, is surrendered and made impossible, and liberty made sure, by being placed under the guardianship of Congress, in every State and Territory forever; the practical resumption of their political duties upon those terms as States in the Union: these are the conditions in substance, which Mr. Lincoln three years ago announced to the people of these States as the terms of pacification, and to which he pledged the support of the Government. These are the substance of the terms offered by President Johnson. Several of the States, or the people of several of the States have accepted them, and offer now to resume all the political duties as States in this Union, and practically enjoy their rights as such. Shall we allow them as soon as these terms have been accepted by these States or by the people of these States in good faith? Just as much pledged as by the terms contained in the surrender of their armies? Mr. Doolittle stated other considerations in support of the President's policy, including that of France and Industry. Let no man misunderstand his position. With these guilty leaders, who, in the Senate, excited the people of those States to revolt, he had, and could have, no sympathy. They deserve none. Since the Angels rebelled in Heaven there had been, in his judgment, no such crime against God or man.

In conclusion, from the beginning and from before the beginning any separation or destruction of the States was impossible. Under the old confederation Union was perpetual, and the Constitution was formed to make a more perfect Union. To admit, therefore, either the right of States to secede or the power of Congress to expel them, would be to admit into our system a principle of self-destruction wholly at war with a perpetual and perfect Union. The Constitution in every part of it, and the spirit which gives it life, are against peaceable secession. And that Constitution clothes the government which it creates with every human power to prevent a separation by force of arms, and those gigantic powers which had slumbered so long that they were wholly unknown to the world, and hardly heard of by ourselves have been lately brought into full play. Whatever may be said of the crime of the rebellion, history will record it as one of the most persistent, self-sacrificing and tremendous struggles the world ever saw—both on the part of the rebels and on the part of the loyal people of the United States. No other people on earth could have so resisted, and no other people and no other government could have overcome such resistance. But we did overcome it. We did prevent the separation of these States from the Union by force. Every law of Congress, every act of the President, every blow we struck, every shot we fired, every drop of blood we shed was not to overthrow these States, nor to open a way for them to go out, nor to reduce them to Territories, but to keep them as States in the Union and to compel them to remain as States in the Union under the Constitution. The flag of our country bears thirty-six stars as the emblem of thirty-six States. Wherever it floats, over this Capitol, at the head of our armies, in the storm of battle and in the hour of victory, over the sea as over the land, that sacred ensign which, next to the God of Heaven, we love and revere—as representing the good, the great and the true everywhere, bears thirty-six stars, and thereby proclaims to the world the great fundamental national truth, that there are thirty-six States in the Union under the Constitution—that thirty-six States constitute the great Republic which the world calls the United States of America. Upon that line and under that flag we began the great campaign. Upon that line and under that flag half a million of our sons and fathers and brothers have laid down their lives. Upon that line and under that flag we fought it out to victory; and now, God helping me, I will continue to fight it out on that line and under that flag, to the end, whoever else may abandon it.

President Johnson and the Radical Conspirators in Congress.—Since the assembling of Congress the opposition of the Radical leaders to the Reconstruction policy of President Johnson has assumed the form of an organized conspiracy. The Committee on Reconstruction, invented by Stevens, of Pennsylvania, and sprung upon Congress at the very opening of the session, was a shrewd trap to ensnare those Republican members who are inclined to be conservative and to support the President. The Committee is simply a Jacobin club, designed to strangle every resolution of confidence in President Johnson, and to prevent any Congressional action upon the admission of the Southern delegates until all the demands of the Radical leaders have been completely granted. It is the old spectacle over again of a few strong and experienced minds directing and controlling a weak and inexperienced crowd. It is the new Jacobins dictating to the new [illegible]. It is another class of organized rebels [illegible] the disorganized Conservatives, as the Southern rebels did in the Congress just before the recent war.—*N. Y. Herald.*

Selections.

THE PRESIDENT AND EX-GOVERNOR PARSONS OF ALABAMA.

[The *Reconstructionist* is the name of a new paper in Washington, published by Mrs. Jane G. Swisshelm. Her third number, dated January 13th, contains a record of ex-Provisional-Gov. Parsons which may not be without interest to our readers. He has been recently in Washington, New York, Boston and other Northern cities, attracting much attention, though not succeeding well in selling Alabama bonds, a commission for which he bore. He was early appointed Provisional Governor of that State, against the earnest [illegible], and continues to be a special favorite of the President. The *Reconstructionist* gives us the following.]

Lewis E. Parsons went to Alabama in 1835 from Herkimer Co., N. Y. and was little known until the breaking out of the rebellion, although he was in the Legislature of 1859, which resolved that the election of a Republican President would be good cause for dissolving the Union, and voted $200,000 to equip eight thousand men as a State force to carry out the Resolution.

On the 17th of Jan. Mr. Isly, from the Committee of Ways and Means, reported a bill to issue two millions in State bonds to provide for the military defence of the State. It required executors, administrators, trustees and guardians to invest the funds and property belonging to the estates of their wards in these bonds. Mr. Cletheral moved to strike out this section, which motion was lost, Mr. Parsons voting in the negative. Mr. Cletheral then moved to amend by adding, "with the authority of the proper Chancery or Probate Court first obtained." This, too, was lost, Mr. Parsons voting in the negative. The bill was passed and the estates of widows and orphans thus lost, and they reduced to beggary, while the late Convention confirmed all legislative and judicial acts done during the war.

In the House of Representatives, Montgomery, Aug. 18, 1863, Mr. Parsons introduced the following resolutions:

Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, in General Assembly convened—That our confidence in the patriotism and ability of President Davis is unabated; and that the vicissitudes of war and the reverses of battle cannot shake it; and we hereby tender to him our hearty thanks for his good labors in the cause of our common country, together with the assurance of our continued candid support to the extent of our resources. May God prolong his life, and give him strength to meet the demands of the present and future.

The second resolution instructed the rebel Senators and Representatives to use their utmost exertions to procure an increase of pay for privates and non-commissioned officers in the rebel army—and the third directed the Governor to communicate a copy to "His Excellency, Jefferson Davis, President of Confederate States," and to each of the Senators and Representatives from Alabama in the rebel Congress.

[In 1864, Parsons, then a member of the Legislature of Alabama, offered a series of resolutions counselling peace, but on what conditions the speech which he made in their support will fully illustrate. The preamble was very long, but the following is the close of it, and the resolution, together with the substance of the speech. The paper, we are told, containing it, was a "yellow, flimsy thing, the type old," and bore date October [illegible], 1864.]

Whereas, at a recent convention, held in the City of Chicago [Democratic], a numerous and powerful party has declared its willingness, if successful, to stop fighting and open negotiations with us on the basis of the Federal Constitution as it is, and restoration of the Union under it,

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, in General Assembly convened, That we sincerely desire peace; if the aforesaid party is successful (in the election of George B. McClellan) we are willing and ready to open negotiations for peace on the basis indicated in the platform adopted by said convention, our sister States of this Confederacy being willing thereto. This preamble and resolution being under consideration, Mr. Parsons made, in substance, the following remarks:

Mr. Speaker: The re-election of Abraham Lincoln renders a continuance of the present war inevitable. His defeat by the party that has nominated Gen. McClellan will as certainly result in a cessation of arms and an effort to open negotiations for peace.

The terms which Mr. Lincoln proposes as the only basis on which he will consent to negotiation for peace, are "a restoration of the Union in its entire territorial integrity, and the abolition of slavery." These terms cannot be accepted by us, and will not, while we have any power left to resist oppression. They are, in fact, subjugation, because the power that can enforce these terms as a basis of negotiation, can impose others, also.

It is not submission, merely, to the loss of so much property in slaves at the bidding of power, but it is submission to the destruction of society itself, if the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln was enforced in these States. The white race could not remain there, at least that portion of it whose intelligence, energy and moral worth alone impart value to the institutions of society, and render it desirable. This we know would be the result, whatever he and his co-workers may think to the contrary.

The moral power of our position is, therefore, very great. We stand before the world, while that proclamation remains in force, as men fighting for everything which an intelligent Christian people hold dear. The nations may hold aloof; lift not a hand, raise not a voice; but the mind, the conscience, the heart of every man who knows our condition and the stern realities by which we are surrounded, cannot withhold its sympathy or resist the conviction that we are right, that no sacrifice of life and treasure which is necessary to sustain such a cause can be too great. It is this conviction which has inspired us with a unity and determination of purpose, such as no other people of modern times have manifested. It is this conviction which will sustain them to the end.

If Lincoln is re-elected, he and his friends will claim that it is an endorsement of his administration, and that he is authorized to complete the execution of his plans of emancipation, regardless of the cost to themselves, or the ruin which it brings on the people of these States.

There is now an opportunity to drive him from power and institute a new order of things in the United States, by means of the ballot-box. A numerous and powerful party are engaged in the effort. Success is as important to them as it is to us; for everything they hold dear is involved in the issue. Can we remain idle or indifferent? Shall we not be false to our cause, to ourselves, and to our posterity, if we do?

The adoption of this resolution will enable the friends of peace to combat successfully the false assertions of the friends of Lincoln and war. Already, the indications are favorable. Seward, his Secretary of State, in his recent speech at Auburn, endeavored to show that the policy of the Administration is similar in this respect to that of the friends of peace.

The farther prosecution of this war for the purposes professed by Lincoln is not popular with those who must enter the ranks and expose themselves, not only to all its hardships and dangers, but also to the diseases peculiar to our climate. The efforts they make to obtain substitutes of any color and at any price, the threatened draft, all go to prove it.

The opportunity of relieving themselves from all this is presented in the coming election. I think the great majority of these will avail themselves of it, and vote with the party that is pledged to stop fighting and resort to the art of kindness and statesmanship to bring about a peaceable settlement. To them the question presents itself thus: Lincoln: the war; the draft, or a substitute obtained at any price. On the other hand: McClellan and peace. Can there be much doubt which these will prefer who must go to the ranks, or who are now there? Without doubt the quartermasters and contractors, the spoilsman, and those who occupy bomb-proof positions under this Administration, will shout, "The war must go on!" "We must fight it out!" "All hope of free government is forever lost, unless we crush the rebels and abolish slavery." But the men who must enter the ranks in the bullet department will understand all that.

* * * * * *

For these reasons and many others, I urge the adoption of this resolution *now*. At the same time, let us strengthen our military resources by every means in our power, so that, if we should fail to negotiate a peace on honorable terms, we shall be ready and better prepared to continue the war. In this way we shall employ all of our powers. Man is endowed with both physical and intellectual capacity. But to what purpose is the latter given us if we employ it alone in directing the former? Moral influences, for the most part, govern the world. The time is past when mere brute force can control men.

* * * * * *

I have always been of opinion, since the first gun was fired at Fort Sumter, that the Union was gone—forever gone; and that "reconstruction," however desirable it might be, is an impossibility. I have always expressed it, both in public speeches and in private conversations. I see no reason to change it. The immense war debt contracted by each party; the thousands who have fallen in battle or by disease; the tens of thousands who have been wounded and crippled for life; the broken in health and constitution; our desolated homes, our cities and towns in ruins; our fields laid waste; together with the terrible passions which have been aroused, are difficulties, which in my judgment, are insurmountable. Can we reasonably suppose that the North will consent to be taxed to pay our war debt?—a debt which the Abolitionists say was contracted in an unholy rebellion against the best government the world ever saw. Or does any sane man suppose we will consent to pay their war debt, contracted in sending armies and navies to burn our towns and cities, to lay waste our country, whose soldiers have robbed and murdered our peaceful inhabitants?

No, Mr. Speaker, the Union will never be reconstructed. What is to take its place? I confess, sir, our path for the future is by no means free from difficulties, as that future appears to me, let the war end as it may.

Of one thing, however, I feel certain, the sooner we stop fighting the better it will be for both parties. No peace can be permanent which is not based on principles of justice and truth. The sword never has, and never can procure such a peace. The destruction which attends it, to life and property—to morality and law—the wicked passions which it arouses, are all in the way of justice and truth, and while human nature remains as it is, will only obscure them.

[The *Reconstructionist* closes the record thus:]

All of which proves that Mr. Parsons is a moral philosopher and had had enough fighting. A cessation of hostilities while "strengthening our military resources" to negotiate for the restoration of a Union impossible to restore would have been wise; and this proves the truth of the statement made by Union men at the time, viz: that the Democracy proposed to treat with the rebels for a peaceable dissolution of the Union, hence the philosophizing about two *hostile* republics. Further to prove his belief in moral forces, Mr. Parsons has made speeches for the Northern market, which have misled President Johnson, Horace Greeley, and others of undoubted loyalty, while in Alabama he reinstated the Confederacy and crushed Union men with the iron hand of power, and freely declared that coming back into the Union was a most painful necessity, and that he would have much preferred becoming a subject of France or England.

His successor is "another of the same," and was elected on account of his sacrifices in aiding Hood to cross the Tennessee on his advance, and recross on his retreat.

How *can* President Johnson persevere in a policy which makes treason triumphant and loyalty odious?

CONGRESS.

[The proceedings in both the Senate and House were of much interest on Thursday and Friday of last week.]

Senator Wade replied in a masterly way to Mr. Doolittle of Wisconsin and the House passed without condition the bill for unrestricted suffrage in the District of Columbia.

The first motion was to lay on the table, which was lost by a strict party vote—46 to 123.

Mr. Darling's motion to postpone was lost by 34 to 134—the ayes being all Republicans, the Democrats voting solidly against it.

The motion to recommit with instructions was then lost by ayes 58, noes 117—the Democrats voting with the Radicals against it.

On the passage of the bill, the vote stood 116 to 54, the entire Republican strength being cast for it, save some seventeen or eighteen.

In the Senate on Friday a petition from the colored people of the District of Columbia for the passage of the House Negro Suffrage bill was presented by Mr. Sumner. Mr. Doolittle presented the credentials as Senator from Florida of ex-Provisional Gov. Marvin, spoke in most complimentary terms of Mr. Marvin's character and claims for admission, and read extracts from his valedictory address on retiring from the Governorship. Mr. Sumner replied, expressing great respect for Mr. Marvin, but contending that he had failed to do his whole duty as Governor, and read letters descriptive of the condition of affairs in Florida to show that the people of that State are still disloyal and not justly entitled to claim the admittance of their Representatives to Congress. The credentials were then laid on the table.

In the House Mr. Deming, of Connecticut, made a speech on the President's policy which is said to have powerfully moved both the House and galleries with its fine rhetoric and force of appeal.

He said: "We have the right to hold the conquered enemy in the grasp of war until we obtain full security to the Government, and until we can carry out all the pledges of good faith which we made during the progress of the war. He would not permit the organized rebels, called the Confederacy of States, to come back without the amplest guarantees. He would hold them where he had a right to hold them, according to the mildest construction of the rights of the conqueror. He would hold them in the grasp of war until we obtain all the securities for the national safety and honor which we have a right to demand. By no consent of his should the public faith be jeopardized by the vote of any public enemy until the precious jewel of security shall be embedded in the imperishable bulwarks of the Constitution. He would require, as a condition preliminary to re-admission—First, that the Government shall be absolutely protected from the repetition of rebellion by the insertion of such a provision in the organic law. Second, that freedmen shall be secured in absolute equality with the whites before civil and criminal law, and endowed with every political right necessary to maintain their liberty. Third, that the public credit shall be protected as completely as it can be by organic law, and that there shall be no repudiation of the public debt. Fourth, that there must be protection from taxation, direct or indirect, for the payment of the rebel debt; and fifth, an Amendment to the Constitution as proposed by Mr. Bingham, giving Congress power to make all laws necessary and proper to secure to all persons in every State equal protection to life, liberty and property. More than this we might reasonably demand; but not a jot less can we receive. The country has been told that the South accepted the situation; so did Payne and the other conspirators. Some gentlemen thanked God for the conversion of the Southern heart, which for violent and vindictive passions had become a reproach and a proverb of the past; but there was no loyalty in the South worthy of the name. He quoted from the report of Gen. Carl Schurz to show that the South submitted as a necessity to the force of our arms, and said that the instrument of conversion was the 'sword of Ulysses,' and now they wanted to steal back and strangle the Government in the sanctuary. After a brief review of recent Southern legislation, especially in respect to negroes, he asked what faith could be placed in this generation of vipers? He would not take such bonds for their good behavior, which they were at liberty to cancel or disregard. There was, he repeated, no loyalty there except dogged submission to the state of things, and they quietly bide the time when they can return to these halls to retrieve in the forum the misfortunes of the field. When the accumulated proof of the Southern animus should be brought before the conscience and intelligence of the North, there was not a man who could live under it, who sanctioned even for a moment the unconditional admission of these rebels to this floor, or who would permit their admission without requiring such guarantees as will abundantly secure us against their machinations hereafter. In conclusion he said he was glad his feeble voice had spread this alarm. The rebels were in no condition to be admitted here, unless we sacrifice all the results of the war by constituting public enemies joint trustees with ourselves in guarding the most sacred treasures committed to our hands."

THE SLAVE CODE IN LOUISVILLE.

In Louisville says the Cincinnati *Gazette*, a policeman found a pistol on the premises of John Henry, a colored man, who had been with the army, and confiscated it under the Kentucky slave code, the magistrate making John Henry pay two dollars additional penalty. John Henry appealed to the Superintendent of Freedmen's Affairs, who held a trial, and ordered the pistol and two dollars returned to John Henry.

The Louisville *Journal* does not approve the decision but it says the Legislature has only to strike out the slave part of the law to make it legal against free negroes. We suppose it may be legal if it applies equally to all, but not without. The Judge said in giving his decision:

The faith of this great nation should not be mocked at.

The amendment to the Constitution striking slavery from existence, makes the plaintiff a citizen of the United States, and as such he is entitled to protection of life, liberty and reputation, which necessarily include the right of acquiring, holding and enjoying property. Anything short of this would be *fraud*.

The taking of the pistol from the plaintiff was done under a statute of the State that reads as follows:

"Sec. 12. If any negro shall keep or carry a gun, or other deadly weapon, powder or shot, the same may be seized by any free white person, and upon due proof thereof, before a Justice of the Peace, it shall be forfeited and vested in the person seizing; and if the negro offending be a slave, he shall, by a judgment of a Justice of the Peace, be punished by stripes, not exceeding thirty-nine; if a free negro, fined five dollars.

This statute was enacted when slavery existed. That curse no longer exists; it belongs to the things of yesterday, and with it should go all its appendages and appurtenances, this enactment with the rest. This legalized robbery must cease.

The most humiliating condition for a people supposing themselves to be free, to occupy, is to be taxed to pay a military force to preserve order and enforce justice. Such is the condition of the people of our State, and it must continue until our law makers conform to the changed condition of the country. National faith must be observed. Christian duties must be performed.

The parties agreeing, the pistol was restored to the plaintiff, and the Court ordered that the defendant pay the plaintiff two dollars—which he had to pay for the confiscation and costs of this proceeding—all of which was done.

The Judge continued his remarks, saying that he imposed no penalty upon the defendant because he acted under the semblance of law, but that it might not be out of place to state that if hereafter there should be any attempt to enforce this statute, and complaint is made, the offender will be overtaken with retributive justice.

The court, said the Judge, will take pleasure in acting in concert with the city and State authorities to enforce the statute against wearing concealed deadly weapons.

CASTE IN THE ARMY.

From the N. Y. Independent.

The bill which has been introduced into the Senate by the Chairman of Military Affairs for reorganizing our army might, with equal justice, be called a bill for perpetuating military caste. Our army and navy have always needed republicanizing, for they have been constituted heretofore on a more aristocratic principle than the military service of any other nation in the world excepting only that of England. During the war, promotions from the ranks, in the army at least, on the score of merit, did sometimes take place: but with the return of peace we have returned to the old aristocratic order of things, and hereafter the sole incentive to good conduct, the hope of promotion, will be denied to the rank and file in both branches of our military service. We have been hopefully looking forward to something different; but it is very evident that West Point is hereafter to furnish the officers of our army, as the Naval Academy is to furnish officers for our navy, and the national uniform will become a badge of degradation, rather than a mark of distinguished honor. In addition to the old abuses of the military service, it is now proposed to render the army an instrument for degrading our colored population and keeping them a distinct caste. A certain number of regiments are to be composed entirely of colored soldiers, who are to be officered by white men; an additional stigma is to be attached to these faithful servants; they are not to be permitted to associate with their white compatriots, nor are they to be allowed the privilege of earning promotion by faithful service and gallant conduct; and yet they are expected to exhibit all soldierly qualities, while they are to be denied all honorable rewards which stimulate the ambition of a soldier. Has any provision been made by the bill for the reorganization of the army for the admission of the children of colored heroes to West Point? If black soldiers are considered essential in the organization of our military forces, it is certainly essential that they should be well-behaved and imbued with that *esprit du corps* without which the rank and file of an army are only a costly and dangerous encumbrance. But if we commence by degrading them, by denying them all the encouragements which render military service endurable, how can we ever hope for an effective regiment composed of men whom we teach to regard us as their enemy and oppressor? While the rebellion was rampant, the Government had no choice but to call on the colored men to help us in our extremity. But, now that the war is over, we can better afford to dispense with the assistance of our colored population, and, unless we can accept their services without degrading them, let us by all means do without them. If any colored citizen wishes to become a soldier, let there be no impediment to his doing so, except such as applies to all other men. But it will never do to keep up a separate organization of colored regiments; it will establish a military caste, which cannot fail to be productive of terrible consequences. The injustice and impolicy of such a measure are so patent that we do not see how any one who advocates the political equality of all men, without respect of complexion or race, could give his support to such a measure.

LOUISIANA LOYALTY.

[The Washington correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* writes thus under date January 14.]

Col. Shaffer, formerly Gen. Butler's Chief of Staff, who has just returned from a two months' tour through Mississippi, Louisiana and Alabama, gives anything but a flattering account of the condition of affairs there. He says that nearly all the Northern men who went down South to settle, since the conclusion of the war, are preparing to return to the North again, in consequence of the hostility of the Southern people toward them. Many of these settlers have purchased or leased plantations and expended thousands of dollars in preparing them for cotton raising, but so violent is the persecution they meet with at the hands of the reconstructed rebels that they prefer to leave everything than to remain in that country. In this connection, Col. Shaffer mentions the case of a Northern man who for three years past has been engaged in cotton growing in Louisiana. He had three plantations and employed 2,500 negroes at good wages. On the 1st of January he called his hands together and informed them that he could not renew his contracts with them, and that if he attempted to put in another crop he would not be allowed to gather it, and that if he remained his life was in peril. This gentleman had expended over half a million of dollars on his plantations, all of which he had of course, to leave behind. This feeling of hostility toward the Yankees, Col. Shaffer says, is not confined to the sparsely populated districts of the South, but extends to the cities and towns where United States troops are stationed. The majority of the Northern merchants in New Orleans and Mobile, who went there after the capture of those places and opened stores, are making preparations to leave as soon as they can after the withdrawal of the troops, and Col. S. predicts that four-fifths of the Northern men now in the South will be out of it before the first of May. Nearly all the laws passed by the reconstructed Legislatures of the Gulf States are framed with the purpose of excluding Northern emigration to the South, and keeping the negro in a condition worse, if anything, than slavery. In Mississippi the Legislature has just passed an act preventing the negroes from hiring out to anybody but their former masters, and imposing a fine on the person hiring them of five dollars a day for every day they so employ them. The effect of this is to strip the plantations of Northern men of their labor. The Black Code and vagrant laws have also been made twice as stringent as they formerly were and a negro thrown out of work by the law prohibiting his employment except by his late owner, becomes, in the eye of the law, a vagrant, and as such, is bound out for a term of years to anybody who wants him. The courts, both State and Federal, are managed in the interests of the rebels, and it is impossible for a Northern man, even in the most trifling suits, to have justice shown him. The juries are composed of rebels · the lawyers are rebels, and the whole affair a mere mockery. It is with great difficulty, Col. Shaffer says, that a Yankee can secure the services of a lawyer to defend or prosecute a suit in any of the Southern courts, so intense is the hatred of every thing Northern. In many places, officers wearing the uniform of our army are refused accommodations at the hotels, and so frequent are the annoyances and insults to which they are subjected, that very few who are compelled to travel on duty in the South wear their uniform any more. In consequence of this state of affairs, Col. Shaffer says that the cotton crop for the coming season will fall far below the estimated amount.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 27, 1866.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

No State shall make any distinction in civil rights and privileges among the naturalized citizens of the United States residing within its limits, or among persons born on its soil of parents permanently resident there, on account of race, color, or descent.

TENNESSEE TO THE PRESIDENT.

In the conflict between the President and the Radicals on the admission of representatives from the South to Congress, Mr. Johnson has been understood to urge especially the recognition of the claimants from Tennessee. That being his own State, its government having been carried on for a time under his personal charge, and representatives having been chosen in pursuance of a plan directed by himself, his friends were able to say that to resist the admission of Tennessee, was to cast reproach upon Andrew Johnson. The argument had weight with those who were anxious to avoid the conflict which he has always seemed anxious to provoke. It has been intimated that the case of Tennessee would be first considered by the Reconstruction Committee. Its representatives were invited to seats on the floor of the House, a courtesy denied to all others. So far the President was conciliated, and just so far as he was conciliated, was strengthened. But an unexpected influence has suddenly made itself felt. The State whose admission the President requires as a personal favor, appears upon the scene to decline the grace he would have extended to it. Mr. Johnson would restore Tennessee to the Union as a loyal and thoroughly reconstructed State. But Tennessee, by the voice of her Union men, declares that Unionism is in a helpless minority, and the State on the eve of passing into the political control of a traitorous, vindictive, and violent majority. Mr. Johnson would have the Tennessee representatives admitted into Congress. But the constituents of those representatives appear at the bar of the House to declare that their election did not proceed from the people, and that they represent nothing but Federal bayonets.

These declarations are made by the two Union State Central Committees of Tennessee, uniting in memorials to the Reconstruction Committee of Congress and to the President, which were read at a meeting of the Union Committee, of the German Union Committee, and of the Union members of the Legislature, and were unanimously approved and adopted. These men are the representatives of all the Unionism there is in Tennessee, and speak for the survivors of the heroic band of loyalists who in 1861 resisted the current that swept the State into secession. They are the very men who sustained Andrew Johnson, whose courage and devotion have enabled him to claim that Tennessee as a State is loyal. They aver that the State is not loyal, but that they themselves constitute a minority powerless to resist the still surviving party of Rebellion. They bear convincing testimony to the temper of their enemies, into whose hands that same Andrew Johnson is now so eager to transfer the control of the State.

"The designs of the great secession majority of Tennessee may have been changed by the events of the war, and so may have been their opinions of their own strength and of the strength of the Government; but unless your memorialists greatly misunderstand them, their sentiments, sympathies, and passions remain unchanged. They welcome peace because they are disabled from making war · they submit because they can no longer resist; they accept results they cannot reject, and profess loyalty because they have a halter around their necks. They recognize the abolition of slavery because they see it before them as a fact, but they say it was accomplished by gross violation of the Constitution—that the negro is free only in fact, but not in law or of right."

To repress this secession majority, the Provisional Government of Tennessee was organized, and a law was passed to disfranchise the rebels, but that law is ineffectual. The last election was carried not by the operation of the law, but by the military support of the United States troops, and even military power was unavailing in many counties. If that power is withdrawn, these memorialists testify that it will be impossible to execute the law at all; but that the rebels will, at the first election in which the troops do not take part, secure possession of every department of the government. Outlawed as they now are, they are all-powerful in social relations, in business, in almost every department of active life except the political.

"The tourist would not be apt to detect the true state of the Southern temper. Even the resident observer has to look for it beneath the surface of insincere protestations of loyalty. True, the traveller or visitor might observe a large number of daily rebel newspapers well sustained, while a single loyal paper is sustained with difficulty · he might discover that the rebel merchant or lawyer is full of business and growing rich while the loyalist either fails or is driven to pauder or dissimulate. And he may find that the rebel chaplain preaches to overflowing houses, while the loyal minister is in truth a missionary to an unfriendly country.

"But he will hardly go into the social circle to learn that the Union man is not admitted into society or into private families; to find that hatred of the "Yankee," and contempt for the Government, are inculcated by rebel ministers and teachers: nor will he visit the township election to learn that the bushwhacker and guerilla can defeat the most respectable Union man for constable or justice of the peace; or the courts, to learn that the despised 'Lincolnite" fails to get justice at the hands of the rebel jury, and that the putting of a negro on trial is equivalent to his conviction and sentence to the maximum penalties of the law. Yet these and many other manifestations betray to the resident observer the malignant temper of the majority of the people.

"A party exists in the State which is every day becoming more compact and powerful, which sympathizes with the men and principles of the rebellion. It commands every agency to operate upon public opinion. It has five well-sustained and ably edited daily papers in Memphis, four in Nashville, one in Knoxville, and a weekly in each of the important villages. Their pardoned, but talented and still popular leaders, are with them; hundreds of rebel ministers, who glory in having led off in the rebellion, and who have been throughout the war the bloodiest minded men in the South, are still in the confidence of their people. All these appliances, acting in harmony, mould public sentiments as they please, and command a party of over two-thirds of the white men of the State. Free from restrictions upon suffrage, they will probably cast ninety thousand votes in the State."

The hatred of loyalty, contempt for the negro, and alienation from the Government are as common to the people as to the leaders. The disloyal majority will be compact, resolute, and bent on a policy which is thus outlined:

"First—That, so far as possible, in legislation and the bestowal of patronage, and the management of all public affairs, the late rebels will be the preferred class, and that all the acts of the rebel State government, including the removal and destruction of the State banks and State Treasury, the disarming and conscripting the people, and the impressment of their property and all the acts of rebel officers, soldiers, and guerillas will be legalized. Those who have been robbed, wounded, and imprisoned, will go unredressed, while those who have inflicted those injuries will be justified in law as they now are in public sentiment."

"Second—As is even now the case in many localities, services rendered and wounds received in the Confederate cause will be passports to preferment, while to have taken sides with the cause of the Union will be equivalent to a judgment of infamy, forever consigning the offender to obscurity and disgrace.

"Third—If the Legislature does not vote thanks and medals to the Southern heroes, and unite with other Southern States to pay the Confederate debt, it will be from fear or policy, and not from want of sympathy or desire.

"Fourth—As far as possible, restrictions will be thrown around the negro, and his elevation in the scale of being discountenanced, if not actually prohibited: he will be excluded from the courts, from common schools, and probably from all means of education—from business and privileged occupations, and perhaps from the acquisition of property."

In relation to the negro, the memorialists say frankly that the disposition shown by themselves, that is, by the party whom they represent, has not been creditable. They avow with regret—

"That as yet the loyalists of East Tennessee, brave and noble as they are, have not kept pace with the spirit of the nation in extending civil rights to the negro, and consequently there exists a want of harmony among ourselves, but they do not doubt that patriotic but rural people will soon take a position worthy their fame. But in any event, all legislation looking to the elevation of the freedmen, in a moral, civil, or political point of view, must come from Congress, and not from the State Legislature. It may be that the present body may pass some favorable laws, probably they will, but it is easy to see that they will be swept away by the next General Assembly."

That, however, does not diminish the force of their representations concerning what ought to be the national policy toward Tennessee. The Unionists, white and black alike, ask simply *protection.* They pray the Government not to forsake them. They desire to be represented in Congress, but the language in which they avow that desire ought to reach every loyal ear in the North and cover with confusion the counsels of the President who has sought to advance his scheme of premature reconstruction by pleading the claims of these loyalists of Tennessee. This is their language:

"Your memorialists will say, however, that they desire to be represented in Congress. The loyal people of Tennessee have not forfeited their civil rights by the misfortune of being surrounded by rebels. And if difficulties should occur hereafter, as is to be feared, in that event they desire to have a voice in the councils of the nation. *But if our form of Government is such, that to admit our representatives to seats in Congress will compel the withdrawal of the supervising control of the National Government over our internal affairs, thereby insuring the ascendency of the rebel majority, your memorialists prefer, and they are sure the loyal people of the State prefer, to live in a territorial condition,* AND EVEN UNDER A MILITARY GOVERNMENT."

—The sum of the whole business is that Andrew Johnson has been endeavoring to get Tennessee admitted under false pretences, and that those pretences are now thoroughly exposed. Either he did not know the true condition of his own State, or he has wilfully misrepresented it. The former is impossible.

Georgia and the Freedmen.—A correspondent of the Boston *Commonwealth* writing from Columbus, Ga., says: Virginia and the Carolinas are somewhat shaken with anxiety lest retributive justice should visit them in the guise of a negro insurrection; while Georgia, more confident that the negro designs to usurp the land, lifts its finger for its own protection. All about the State the citizens have formed themselves into armed companies to secure protection to their firesides. The Atlanta *Intelligencer*, of Dec. 5, says:

'In the new order of things we may look for an increase of lawlessness; and, if we evince some solicitude on the subject, it arises from our knowledge of the negro character, and of what he is capable when left to follow the bent of his own inclinations."

Strange to tell, the general anxiety expresses itself in establishing public and private restrictions which tend to develop and foster the essential elements of insurrection. In Wilkes county, the negroes are the victims of the protective police, who rob, plunder, roast and murder them. They pillage their houses, which they enter upon the plea of searching for arms · and in several instances they have seated them upon burning coals while they sought to extort from them secrets. From all quarters of Georgia and Alabama we hear the same story of brutal persecution.

Plotting.—A Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune* on Monday says: It has leaked out that the Federal office-holders in Connecticut, Postmasters, Revenue Collectors, Tidewaiters etc., are making strenuous efforts to get possession of the Union State Convention which is to assemble at Hartford on February 14. The intention is to have resolutions passed there indorsing the President's Reconstruction policy, whatever that may be; to instruct the Congressional delegation of the State to vote for the early re-admission of Tennessee, and generally to have the Union party of Connecticut put forth a platform calculated to secure the movers in the possession of their plans. Senator Dixon left Washington for New York a few evenings since, it is believed for the purpose of conferring with a delegation of Connecticut office-holders upon the measures to be adopted to insure the success of this movement, and especially the platform to be adopted.

An Honest Avowal.—The *Times* of Monday tells us honestly how the Suffrage bill for the District of Columbia got enacted in the House. It says:

"The great body of the Union majority preferred to vote together rather than separate upon the issue thus forced upon them. Whether they acted wisely or not, will be determined by results; but we know that they acted from a paramount desire to save the Union party from dissension and disruption."

As the principal editor of the *Times* voted himself for the bill after strongly opposing it in the discussion, this testimony may be considered reliable. The explanation of his vote possibly may be gathered from the following in the same article:

"It is well enough to bear in mind, moreover, that President Johnson has never committed himself in any way to the principle of universal negro suffrage, either for the District of Columbia or for any State.

* * * * * * *

"It is possible, therefore, to say the least, in our judgment, that President Johnson may withhold his signature from this bill."

We may infer, therefore, that the President is not so profoundly impressed with the importance of holding a mere party together—an order or quality of patriotism the *Times* seems hardly able to appreciate.

"TO WHOM BEL[illegible]WN?"—AGAIN.

It was a predictio[illegible] bolitionists as they prosecuted their wa[illegible] avery, that, when it was abolished, the [illegible] inistry, from whom came the most malig[illegible], would be foremost and loudest in claim[illegible] While these associations pretended [illegible] exponents of Christianity, its possesso[illegible] professors and promulgators, they had [illegible] for the Abolitionists than heretics, infide[illegible], and generally they regarded them with a respect such as the old Jews had for the Samaritans. And no denomination was more malignant in its opposition to them than the Methodists.

A brief chapter of Methodist devotion to slavery was given in the Standard last week. Allusion also was made to the separation which that devotion produced in the General Conference, growing out of the honest and persistent protest of the better portion of the body, including a number of its ablest ministers. The separation, like that between the States twenty years later, was a secession of the South from the North, and not, as it should have been, of the North from the South. And so the difficulty was not remedied, but rather increased. The South withdrew to avoid the constant rebuke of the disturbing Northern element that could not be made to believe in the divinity of man-stealing, even when preached and practised by ministers, elders and bishops.

A majority of the ruling element in the North opposed violently the separation. Indeed, a large portion of border slave territory remained with the North. Eight Annual Conferences were in part, or wholly, in slave States. It was computed by Methodist arithmetic that these included between four and five thousand slaveholders and twenty-five thousand slaves. Nor was the hatred very heavy on the part of the South, for at the first meeting of its Conference an order was adopted which, in the published [illegible] is:

"After the f[illegible] Bishop Soule requeste[illegible] minutes. Dr. Winans the[illegible] ngs and that of many ot[illegible] through the bounds of a[illegible] ch,' for the very kind a[illegible] had received from their Northern brethren on their way to this city. It expresses the hope that, although a separation has taken place, whenever a Southern brother, in the providence of God, shall be called to visit a Northern city, or place, where there is a Methodist pulpit, he may find it open to his ministry, and assuring the Northern brethren that the like Christian courtesy shall always be extended to them. The document was unanimously adopted and ordered to be signed by a committee of the Conference."

And so cordial and fervent grew the reciprocity between the two Conferences that a subdivision was the result, and a Northern Association came into existence that refused all proffers of Southern recognition, friendship or fellowship. And the hostility of the Northern General Conference element to this new Protestantism was greater than it was, is, or ever has been, to the Southern Conference itself. One of the largest Northern Conferences (the Baltimore), so late as 1846, was adopting resolutions like this:

"Resolved, That this Conference disclaims having any fellowship with abolitionism. On the contrary, while it is determined to maintain its well-known and long-established position, by keeping the travelling preachers composing its own body free from slavery, it is also determined not to hold connection with any ecclasiastical body that shall make non-slaveholding a condition of membership in the church; but to stand by and maintain the discipline as it is."

And the Rhode Island Conference immediately echoed the Baltimore, as follows:

"Resolved, by the Providence Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Conference assembled, That while we regret certain allusions in the resolutions of the late Baltimore Conference, we nevertheless consider the position assumed by that body in relation to slavery, especially as defined in its Pastoral Address, *as exceedingly judicious, and the best for the church and the slave, possible, under existing circumstances.*"

The Northern Border Conferences created great trouble by their apprehensions lest their presiding elders and ministers should or had become Abolitionists. An extract of one Pastoral Letter will reveal the nature, depth and subsequent cure of this grievance. The Philadelphia Conference embraced in its territory portions of Maryland and Virginia, and from those sections came the complaints, which were met in part as follows by the Elders:

"If the plan of separation gives us the pastoral care of you, it [illegible] e done anything a[illegible] it your confidence [illegible] at even in the grea[illegible] you for some mont[illegible] moral conduct, or [illegible] ctrine, or corruptio[illegible] of discipline. But we learn that the simple cause of the unhappy excitement among you is, that some suspect us, or affect to suspect us, of being Abolitionists. Yet, no particular act of the Conference, or any particular member thereof, is adduced, as the ground of the erroneous and injurious suspicion. We would ask you, brethren, whether the conduct of our ministry among you for sixty years past, ought not to be sufficient to protect us from this charge? Whether the question we have been accustomed, for a few years past, to put to candidates for admission among us, namely, *Are you an Abolitionist?* and without each one answered in the negative, he was not received, ought not to protect us from the charge. Whether the action of the last Conference on this particular matter, ought not to satisfy any fair and candid mind that we are not, and do not desire to be, Abolitionists.

* * * * * * *

We cannot see how we can be regarded as Abolitionists without the ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, being considered in the same light. * * * *

"Wishing you all heavenly benedictions, we are, dear brethren, yours, in Christ Jesus,

"J. P. Durbin,
"J. Kennaday,
"Ignatius T. Cooper,
"William H. Gilder,
"Joseph Castle,
} Comm.

"Wilmington, Del., April 7, 1847."

The same Conference had already, in 1846, taken action on the subject of candidates for ordination, as thus reported in the United States *Gazette*:

'The Rev. Mr. Quigly proposed that each candidate should be asked 1st, whether he was a slaveholder; and 2d, *whether he was engaged in any of the modern improvements of promoting the abolition of slavery*; and none dissenting, the question was severally asked as follows:

"Bishop Hedding—'Are you a slaveholder?'

"To which all answered, 'No.'

'Bishop Hedding—'Glory to God! not one of their souls is stained with the blood of Africa!'

'The Bishop then informed the candidates that he was about to put a question, the meaning of which, before put, he was in duty bound to explain as he understood it. By an Abolitionist, in the sense he was about interrogatively to use it, he meant not one who was opposed to the holding of men in bondage for mere gain! for the purpose of growing rich by slave labor; to grind the face of the poor, that the master might be exalted: but he meant those who uncharitably denounced men who happened to have been born in a slaveholding State; born in the possession or heritage of slaves · who treated them well, who nurtured the sick and the poor; who did not hold them for mere gain, but for good; who did the best they could under the circumstances. After this explanation, the Bishop said, that in asking them if they were Abolitionists, he meant to ask if they were prepared to [illegible] all who were slaveholders, under any and all circumstances.

"Bishop Hedding—'Are you an abolitionist.'

"To which all answered 'No.'

"Bishop Hedding—'Thank God! there is none of them willing to cut off the heads of our Southern brethren, because they happen to hold slaves.'"

Such are a few paragraphs from the history of a vast ecclesiastical body, whose ministers for months past have been asking most ambitiously who is to wear the crown for the victory over slavery. Such is its record so far as space admits of tracing it to-day. John Wesley, almost a hundred years ago, pronounced slavery "the sum of all villanies.' How many Methodists, elders and even bishops, as well as lay members of the church, have proved themselves to be the sum of all villains, in upholding the abomination, by practice, by precept, and by fearful hostility to the divinely appointed agencies for its extermination from among men!

But few of the genuine Abolitionists, though glad and grateful for all that is well achieved, care to think of crowns or honors, while so much of their legitimate work remains undone. "*They count not themselves yet to have attained.*' For this [illegible] zeal and haste in the church to settle the crowns and the honors, show unmistakably, that the work of repentance and righteousness is not done, nor begun. An apostolic utterance of sublime significance once was, "for the time has come that judgment must begin at the house of God!"

The Methodists are not sinners above, but only with all others of the great American sects, known as, or calling themselves the Church. The Abolitionists warned first the church and then the people and government, in the name of all true scripture and history that unless slavery was put away by timely repentance and reformation, it would one day waken the bolts of avenging wrath. They besought the Northern church to separate itself from the slave-owning and slaveholding synagogues of Satan at the South. In the strain of the visions of Patmos they cried, "Come out of her, my people!" Separate from that mystery and mother of abominations, "that ye partake not in her sin, and receive not of her plagues!" But the church denounced the prophets and messengers of truth as infidels, blasphemers and atheists, and adhered to the foul idolatry. At last the kindling fires around Fort Sumter threw floods of light on the question, To whom *does not* belong the crown of victory over the deadly foe?

Christianity did not abolish slavery in any just sense of that hallowed word. One reason was, it was not the religion of the American Church and people. And slavery is not yet abolished in the only Christian meaning of abolition. It still exists in spirit and power, in the heart of the North, and in both the heart and hope of the South. True it stands to-day a battered fortress, scathed by the fires, shivered by the thunders of heavenly vengeance. But scourged as we were by inexorable Military Necessity into what justice we have done, and what judgment we have executed, who are we as a people a church, a ministry, or what is our religion, that we should be talking of crowns of victory, or songs of triumph? True we resisted unto blood: but not striving against sin.

A plain man of the Abolitionists but with anointed vision said, as the war began to rage around the South, 'the slave is now to obtain his freedom: but it will be in such a way as that there shall no flesh glory in his presence!"

TREACHERY TO THE LOYAL NEGROES.

The Senate last week adopted an Amendment to Mr. Trumbull's bill whereby the abandoned rebel lands awarded to the loyal people of color by Gen. Sherman are confiscated at the end of three years. A sorry *Amendment* this must be considered truly. It was acts of bad faith, of downright treason to the unfortunate on the part of government, which led to the St. Domingo terrors long ago, and to the recent bloody scenes in the island of Jamaica. History cries in vain in the ears of American Senators when such legislation can go gravely on, as though the oppressed did not carry in their bosoms volcanoes kindled from the same torch that lighted Etna and Vesuvius, and whose fiery eruptions are regulated by the same irresistible law. The New York *Tribune* truly says: "the negroes during all last year have been encouraged to suppose that the Government meant to confirm their titles. They consider that the faith of the Government is virtually pledged for the permanent possession of these lands by those to whom military authority assigned them last January. Gen. Sherman's order, it is well known, was prompted and probably drafted by the Secretary of War, then at Savannah. By its first section, the islands from Charleston south, the abandoned rice-fields along the rivers for 30 miles back from the sea, and the country bordering the St. John River, Florida, were reserved and set apart for the settlement of the negroes made free by the acts of war and the proclamation of the President. The order prescribed in detail the method and conditions of settlement; enacting, among other things, that assistance should be given heads of families to establish a 'peaceful agricultural settlement,' and that a negro in the military service might 'locate his family in any one of the settlements at pleasure, and *acquire a homestead* and all other rights and privileges of a settler.' It cannot be denied that such language was calculated and intended to persuade the negro that these lands were to become his forever. It is true that a subsequent section of the order describes the title as possessory, but that word was more likely to confirm than to weaken the impression in the mind of the negro that the land was his. He was assured, moreover, that the 'military authorities would afford him protection until such time as they can protect themselves, or until Congress can *regulate* their title'—a phrase which excludes the idea of disturbing it. The negroes on the faith of these stipulations have entered upon and cultivated these lands. They will justly hold it an act of bad faith to dispossess them. They know that the same power which gave can secure these lands to them permanently. They do not discriminate between different branches of the Government, but they consider that a policy which has involved the interests of others ought to be binding on all departments. They know that if they are dispossessed, it will be to make room for rebels—for there are no loyal claimants of these lands—probably not a single one who could honestly take the oath. It is difficult to conceive of any good reason for ejecting loyalists to whom we have given the lands in order to reinstate traitors who have forfeited their titles. In this matter, both Justice and Policy coincide. It is our duty and it is our interest to protect the Union citizens of these States, for we may look far to find many loyalists in these territories unless those whom black skins cover."

Gov. Worth of North Carolina.—The *Tribune* of last Saturday says: Gov. Worth, of North Carolina was elected by the Secession vote of the State over Provisional Gov. Holden, who ran as a Union candidate, and in whose behalf the whole influence of the National Government and the military power were exerted. The defeat of Mr. Holden was so distasteful to the President that he rebuked the State for its exhibition of disloyalty, and long hesitated to permit Mr. Worth to assume his office. Gov. Worth's first message, of which we print a telegraphic synopsis, proposes a law to prevent the collection of debts due Northern creditors, advises the discontinuation of the Freedmen's Bureau, asserts that the negroes can get justice from the State Courts, refuses to suggest any provision for their protection, and being himself a pardoned Secessionist has the impertinence to pray God that a returning sense of patriotism (!) will ere long induce Congress to admit the Rebel States to their "constitutional rights!" That will do for Worth.

A Washington dispatch to the Boston *Advertiser* says: When the Speaker declared that the bill extending the right of suffrage to all negroes in the District of Columbia had passed by a vote of one hundred and sixteen to sixty-four, the floor and the galleries broke out into most hearty applause, and when some member of the opposition called for order in the galleries, and the Speaker responded that he could not be expected to enforce a rule upon the galleries which the House did not itself observe, the applause was renewed and kept up with great enthusiasm for some minutes.

"The following are the names of those elected as Union men who voted in the negative:—Kuykendall, of Illinois; Hill, Stillwell and Farquhar, of Indiana; Smith, McKee and Randall, of Kentucky; Noell, Van Horn, Benjamin and Anderson, of Missouri; Henderson, of Oregon; Hubbard and Latham, of West Virginia.

The Eight Hour System.—Ira Steward, Secretary of the Boston Labor Reform Association has published an address in that city, 221 Washington street, in which he advocates earnestly a reduction of the hours of labor, until eight instead of ten, or more, shall be the maximum of a day's work. Labor is one of the problems yet to be stated as well as solved, in more respects than as to its number of hours. It is task work, compulsory labor, living only to *get a living*, and dying prematurely after all, dying from forced work, this is one aspect of the question. Men are not made for beasts of burden. All work on the principle of '*your labor or your life*,' is an evil, whether the hours be few or many. Men will all labor, some day, because they love to, not because they have to; will no more be willing to be deprived of it, than of eating, drinking, or any other pleasure. Four hours, not eight, of good, honest, productive work, cheerfully rendered by all, would supply every human want, and furnish every rational pleasure and reasonable luxury for body, soul and spirit—would in a short time capture the armed angel at the gate of Eden, and the race of man would march triumphantly in again, to wipe the sweat from all brows, the tears from all eyes, and with ample resource to render the whole globe a Paradise, unknown to ancient or modern minstrelsy. So courage all who labor to ameliorate in any way or degree, the condition of the now over-worked and weary world of laboring men and women! You are working towards millennial results.

Brooklyn.—We are able to announce a course of four lectures on National affairs at the Academy of Music. Carl Schurz speaks on the 6th of February; Wendell Phillips on the 13th; Henry Ward Beecher on the 20th; and Wm. Lloyd Garrison on the 27th.

The teacher of a colored school in Wyatsville, Md., was recently ordered by the owners of the building to close the school, as the laws prohibit such schools. The matter was referred to Gen. Howard, who directed the teacher to continue the school.

PERSONAL.

Aldridge, the mulatto actor, who has met with such success in London, is now in negotiation with an American manager to play in New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. A colored actress too, it is said, is about to appear in tragedy at the leading theatre of Paris.

We regret to hear that Gen. Saxton has been removed from his superintendency in South Carolina, and a Gen. Scott, from Ohio, appointed to his place. It is understood that the General's opposition to the re-instatement of reconstructed rebels upon their abandoned plantations has not met with favor at Washington. All earnestly-loyal men, and particularly the colored men of the country, will hear this announcement with deep regret.

In this connection, the following comment from the Charleston *News* has a significant emphasis:

"Gen. Sickles seems to be fully impressed with the conviction that the order and progress of the country depend upon *the ability of planters to be masters of the situation upon their places*, and to this end he gives them all the assurances they can reasonably require."

It is gratifying to notice that the lecture of Mr. Beecher on Reconstruction, which he is industriously delivering over the country, does not meet with universal favor. On the contrary there have been many sharp criticisms of it, sometimes in journals not remarkable for Radicalism. The Concord (N. H.) *Monitor* of Friday last says of it · "A part of the lecture was an earnest and generous appeal for the North to forget and forgive the wrongs of the South, and if applied with equal force to the convicts in our penitentiaries, would be an exceedingly pleasing and popular doctrine to them. Just here is where we apprehend Mr. Beecher will fail to carry conviction to Northern hearts." The Boston *Commonwealth* thinks Mr. Beecher was quite unfortunate in presenting his views in the Fraternity course. The large assembly had fed during the season on very different food. His elaboration of the Union Club House speech, when *chaperoning* "Gov.' Parsons, of Alabama, among the polite, but very undemonstrative merchants of this city, fell upon dull and unsympathetic ears · and the plea for superabundant charity and good-nature toward the rebels was premature by several years, or, at least, until the grass grows on the graves of Salisbury and Andersonville. The effort was on all hands confessedly a failure. The best thing in it was a brief point in favor of woman-suffrage.

The Cincinnati *Commercial* says: Gen. C. B. Fiske made a speech before the Western Freedmen's Aid Commission last evening, in the course of which he related the following incident: "A few weeks ago," said Gen. Fiske, "there came into my headquarters at Nashville, a Tennessee lady, elegantly attired in silk and velvet, to talk with us, as she said. I gave her a seat. She took it with 'an air,' and told me she wanted to recover her property seized by the Government. She abused it heartily, and read me a lecture on Yankees and Abolitionists, and execrated them for killing her husband in battle, for he had only gone with the South to fight for its rights. I gave her the circular to read which contains the conditions of the Government for claimants to comply with. She asked me to read it for her. I told her I had no time; that she had better do it herself, and then fill up the 'blanks' provided to prove the legitimacy of her claim. She then admitted that she could neither read nor write.

"I own that while I pitied her, I felt a little mischievous; so I pointed to a young Ohio clerk (once a slave in the far South), and told her he would write out the document for her. She was horrified, and asked me with sharpness and asperity, "Can that nigger write?" Yes, Madam, I said, and he will attend to the business for you. With some reluctance, she went to his desk. He arose, bowed, and gave her a seat, and made out in a fine round hand the necessary statement, and then read it for her. It was then offered for her signature, but when she drew off her glove, and I saw a splendid diamond sparkle on her finger as she made her 'mark,' I pitied her from my heart, for the superiority, and real superiority, of the negro was seen in the simple transaction.

"The poor woman perhaps felt it then herself, for she wept, came to her senses, regretted her harsh remarks about the 'nigger' and went away with ideas more becoming a reconstructed woman than when she came."

THE QUESTION OF THE HOUR.

The question of the hour to every right-minded American is one as plain as it is significant: "What hast thou done with thy brother?"

As a last resource, and in the hour of our extreme danger, we liberated the slave and demanded assistance of himself, and of his Northern brothers in the free States. We received it. To flinch one instant in the performance of our part of this contract, would be an act of the vilest turpitude. Let us not be too certain that we are not doing this.

By liberating the slaves, we have exposed them to the hatred of the half-civilized white population which held them in bondage. Every day we hear of some expression of that hatred in the way of detestable violence. Murder, torture, maiming, no mercy to either sex, or to childish helplessness. Buryings alive, shootings, drownings, until the whole story is so sickening, that the Northern papers cease to publish the accounts; partly, perhaps, in a weak spirit of subserviency to our white-washing President, who desires to have it thought that none of this exists.

Now it needed no spirit of prophecy to forecast that much violence would follow the troubled days after the quenching of the active fires of the rebellion. But it certainly entered into the minds of few or none that the violence would remain unpunished. Could any man believe that with the Federal authority triumphant over the whole land, our always faithful allies would be left comparatively unprotected to the fury of their former masters?

I say, *comparatively*, because I certainly admit that the Freedmen's Bureau has accomplished something, and believe that such a system was indispensable. I have no desire to exaggerate, if I had, the truth does not need it.

But I say that not only has not justice been done, but that far less has been even attempted than any could have conceived possible beforehand.

We know that thousands of murders of the most revolting character have been committed on the unoffending negroes. Is not the murder of a man punishable by death? Have we heard of one Southern white man who has suffered that penalty for these murders? Not one. Had there been a little, ever so little, adequate justice, three-fourths of these murders would have been prevented; and the blood of these men rests directly on the head of the Executive who permits it by neglecting his duty, and indirectly on every man who does not stigmatize that neglect as it deserves.

Even with some sort of Federal control still existing in the South, we see everywhere a determination to oppress the negro in every way. He shall work for the merest fraction of the value of his labor. So far from owning land he shall not even rent it. His escape from the power of his former owner shall be only nominal, for if he quits him without consent, none shall employ him, whereby he becomes at once a vagrant, to be sold into years of slavery under black codes framed for that express purpose. And to accomplish all this, combinations of planters are formed who pledge themselves in honor (!) not to depart from the terms of this scheme of infamous oppression.

I say, then, without hesitation, that the great question of the hour is what we Northern people intend doing in the matter. Whether we will tamely stand by and see Executive usurpation wrest the power from Congress, the better to perpetuate and increase these wrongs, or whether we will unite our voices for right and justice, and insist upon them. We have against us power, patronage and the press; the venal press that, Republican or Democratic, is bought with a fraction of Executive patronage. Shall they prevail?

These Africans are amongst us precisely as the Israelites were in Egypt. Their number is approximately the same, their condition parallel, their subjection and the irresponsible power held over them. Their oppressors were warned and disregarded the warning, until one lesson came, and another, and another, each severer than the last. Finally came that which struck down the first-born in every household of the oppressors.

Is there not a strange similitude in this with our own events just past? In how many of our own households have not the cherished children fallen? Has not history repeated itself with a similarity so striking that none could miss it, not even our Executive, who, but a few short months ago, loudly said to the colored m Tennessee, with, as it now seems, a detesta cerity, "I WILL BE YOUR MOSES!"

Let us then mark what followed in the history Egyptian bondage, and learn from it. At last, the dreadful blow fell upon every household th we) consented to give up their bondsmen. we, set them free. But they did not carry promise with good faith. An attempt at re ment brought a still more painful lesson th that had preceded. Is there nothing in this significant for us? Are not the former slave striving even now for a re-enslavement, if not a at least a virtual one, and one even more than the old, stripped of all the alleviations It rests with us to permit or to prevent. We power, and if we do not use it, we are particip the guilt. We have already gone a long way back our position of twelve months since. Let us not ceived by names, or suppose we have done o the colored man in setting him nominally leaving him to the mercy of his worst enemies plain course of right stands before us. out the word white everywhere, and place an equality in all things, the law, the suffrage tions, emoluments, positions, places of worship of amusement, and public conveyances. either too large or too small. Let all these b not mockeries. And most of all, let the same be meted to the violence done to him as to that he does.

CHRISTMAS IN RICHMO

[The following will be read with interest a little late in its arrival.]

WASHINGTON, D. C., Jan 1

To the Editor of the Standard:

Having spent several weeks in Richmond mar, and having become interested in the colored ple there, I was very desirous of visiting them

I had taken several boxes of clothing to burg for the destitute freed people in having fulfilled my mission in that once wealth aristocratic, but now poverty-stricken, humbl dilapidated place, I thought before going ington I would 'On to Richmond once mo

I will say in passing that there are some ists in Fredericksburg; but the disloyal dominates so largely that the revival of hindered, and thrift and enterprise will be here for some time to come.

Christmas is the day of days in all the South. proaches as nearly to our Fourth of July as the South *can* resemble the institutions of th States. I began the day by going out to colored people were affected by this, their Christmas. Many were wending their various colored churches. I think none of the churches were opened. Others were standing and conversing in subdued tones. A quiet seemed to prevail; I saw no disturbance and none throughout the day, on the part of the people.

There had been much talk of the "negro on Christmas. Gov. Pierpoint was constantly letters from "well-wishers to the Government ing him of "negro plots" and contemplated tions. He and other sensible persons treated warnings as simply absurd. On the part of some whites, no doubt, the wish was father to the They desired an outbreak of some kind to conv world of the unfitness of the negro for freedom, great mistake of emancipation. Such were ably, as the day passed quietly by.

My colored friend, Mrs. C., said, "Oh, yes, there a resurrection, certain! No, indeed. There's mous quantity of 'em here, but they'll only rise about their business. No, as mean as the white has done 'em, they would'nt hurt a hair of their Its their own conscience makes 'em think so. nogg is considered by many whites as a necess pendage to Christmas, and on the present there were colored people who felt constrained its virtues. Mrs. C., said "The colored people joy themselves if they are killed the next minute then, these people just washup God in every think is right. They was so disheartened and couraged, it seemed like the time would nev They thought they had displeased God in But when the slavery chain was broken, and th cuffs, and the spansels, and they unmuzzled the they just don't know what to do. They dont make a goose of 'emselfs, but they're *so happy*'

In the course of the day I saw three Christmas No. 1 was in the large and richly-furnished p the Governor's house. It was laden with use beautiful presents for the children and servants were sparkling eyes and merry hearts. A loving mother, whose presence is sunlight in her hold, was the presiding genius here; and there repetition probably of some other happy times. It gave me joy to see others happy, and time I passed on to Tree No. 2.

Imagine a moderate sized chamber with necessary articles of furniture. No glowing *this* grate. But here were hearts so warm that outward comforts were hardly missed. chamber in Mr. Forrester's house was a beau green tree, hung with various pretty and useful Mr. F., a slave until recently (but a highly has a large family of children. His eldest teaches these children and about a dozen others tree was for her little school, but there were for father and mother, and for grandmother too. I entered, Mr. F. was standing near a Bible open before him.

Said he, "Miss W. this is the first mas we have ever had. Had we met in this year ago the police would have arrested us we do appreciate this." His sad, thoughtful full of deep meaning, but his heart was more. This humble dwelling contained a happy for one day. Even the mother did not care ber her slave life and her incarceration in the for her master's debts. Mr. Forrester bough and four of *his own children* several years ago.

Christmas Tree No. 3 was in the Second Church. The interior was trimmed with and flags (not rebel rags), and a large tree with presents for the 200 S. S. scholars, others. Short addresses were made by th Harris, and Mr. Oliver, both colored. selections from the Scriptures were recit scholars. It had never occurred to me much of the Bible seems written with part ence to this oppressed race. There was sacred and patriotic songs, and "Freedom day' was sung with evident relish. The distribution of presen Parents looke der and delight. This was something new perience—a *free Christ*, indeed!

I had engaged to dine at Gov. Pierpont's party had been invited, all loyal and them had suffered in rebel prisons, and they for the Confederacy. Gov. P.'s lo been doubted, although some of his mea severely criticised. I think that whateve to be for the interest of the colored p recommends. He has not a particle the *chivalry*, nor has he any respect for aristocracy with which Virginia abounds. evening very pleasantly. The associat roundings were at least interesting. Billy and other traitors held their cau in a stone's throw of the capitol where a met nine months before, we talked Un tionism, or any other *ism* as suited the mo will say that a change has not come over the the traitor's dream?

One item more. The freed people in Ri doing well, and the present encouraging state I ascribe to the humane and judicious measu O. Brown, Asst. Com. for Virginia.

Yours, etc.,

Light for the South.—The *Independent* abolition of slavery, had not many subscribe Southern States—the number of people willing to risk their s for the privilege of anti-slavery journal being very small. Now the is overthrown, the case is materially altered, we begin to receive orders for our paper from of our common country. From one town in we received last week an order for a Yankee machine, accompanied by the names of tw subscribers! As the spirit of slavery and the it fostered die out, we shall expect to gain for per a wide circulation in the Southern States.

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, January 22, 1866.

LAST week, one of the few unsatisfactory lectures in our "Fraternity Course" was delivered by Henry Ward Beecher. Not that there were not plenty of good, and even excellent things in the ninety minutes which the famous orator occupied. In fact, if his discourse had been carefully pruned, an unexceptionable lecture of an hour's length might have been got out of it. The difficulty was that with this good matter were mingled and heterogeneously jumbled statements bearing in the very opposite direction. Thus, he demanded for the negro the rights of man, making an elaborate specification of what those rights were; and he also thoroughly approved President Johnson's policy toward the Southern blacks! He drew an excellent picture of freedom, and maintained that the emancipated class were entitled to real liberty, not merely to the name, or the pretence of it, and he also thought that President Johnson's definition of liberty as "the right to labor and to receive in full the reward of your labor" was comprehensive enough and good enough for the persons to whom it was addressed! He conceded that the right of voting in regard to the persons who are to tax and govern you is a *natural right* of all men, yes, and of all women; and he immediately proceeded to recommend an educational restriction upon this "natural right" of suffrage! And he seemed not to have the slightest suspicion that in any of these matters he was contradicting himself. Are his Sunday discourses mixed thus of very good and very bad, like Jeremiah's figs?

One part of the lecture which I must not forget to mention, since he illustrated it at length, and with much emphasis and some humor, was a statement of the reasons why we should not expect from the Southern people any more loyalty, or good temper, or humanity towards the blacks, or fraternal feeling towards the Yankees, than the telegraph wires and the mails everywhere are reporting to us. Of course the reasons are abundant why nothing better is at present to be expected of them. Carl Schurz set these reasons forth, the previous week, in a style more effective (because simpler and more earnest) than Beecher's. But Schurz made this lamentable state of things the occasion for a direct appeal against an immediate restoration of the Southern people to power which they are still disposed to abuse; whereas Beecher seemed to wish his hearers to draw the inference—since these specimens of Southern feeling are natural, and such as we had a right to expect, let us take no notice of them, but reinstate their authors in power forthwith, just as if they were loyal, and just, and humane, and honest and decent men!

The promise of a concluding lecture to this course from Gen. Butler (at some time yet to be announced), brought forth fervent applause from the audience. I take it that Gen. Butler's address, when it comes, will at least have the merit of being homogeneous, and will not consist of layers of positive and negative sandwiched together.

Your neighbor, the *Nation*, "wonders greatly," and proposes not to cease wondering, "that Southern men, capable of reading and with some little knowledge of history and of the rest of the world, do not give up bowie-knives, cowhides and revolvers." It need not wonder; the matter is plain enough; they continue to be barbarians because they have been born and bred under a barbarous system. "Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclined." Their reading in regard to the manners and customs of civilized nations does not benefit them, because those manners and customs are incompatible with their System, their Peculiar Institution, the method of oppression of the laboring class (and of the poor generally) in which they were brought up, and to the re-establishment of which they still aspire. They intend, now as much as formerly, that the negroes and the poor whites shall be "kept under." For themselves, they still intend to be "the chivalry" of the South; and bowie-knives, cowhides and revolvers are the appropriate and indispensable tools of *that sort* of chivalry; for the distinction drawn years ago, by the witty author of *The New Gospel of Peace*, was a perfectly accurate description, and yet remains so. He said:

"To be of the Tshivulree was the chief boast among the men of the South, because it had been a great name upon the earth. For of olden time he who was of the Tshivulree was bound by an oath to defend the weak and succor the oppressed, yea, even though he gave his life for them. But among the men of the South he only was of the Tshivulree who ate his bread in the sweat of another's face, who robbed the laborer of his hire, who oppressed the weak, and set his foot upon the neck of the lowly, and who sold from the mother the fruit of her womb and the nursling of her bosom."

Such is the spirit of the Southern chivalry, even unto this day.

But a passage in the leading article of this same number of the *Nation* gives the reason of this state of things with sufficient accuracy. Speaking of the state of Southern manners and morals up to the time of the rebellion, it says:

"The dominion of law, as we understand it, and as every civilized country must understand it if it mean to retain its civilization, was unknown to the mass of the Southern people. The *necessities of their social system* made respect for legal forms, or processes, or individual rights, impossible. The quick, sharp, peremptory mandates of a mob of citizens collected from the neighboring plantations is at this moment the highest sanction known to most Southern men, something far higher than acts of the Legislature or decrees of courts."

This witness is true. Living in a community which disregards law, and knowing therefore that his personal safety is not assured either by power in the State or by civilized manners and customs among the people, the "high-toned Southern gentleman" takes his weapons with him as a matter of course. And his habit of doing this has so demoralized the National Capital, and the Legislative assemblies of the nation, that fights between members of Congress with knife or pistol, for words spoken in debate, are not punished even by expulsion from that body; are suffered, in fact, to pass unnoticed, except by jocose comments of the reporters. This is one of the results of our long forbearance with "our Southern brethren."

Speaking of hardness of heart engendered by long habits of oppression, the elaborate dispatch in which Gov. Eyre gives his report of the recent bloodshed in Jamaica emphatically denies that the laboring population of that island have any substantial grievances to complain of. His speech to the House of Assembly takes the same ground, saying—"I know of no general grievance under which the negroes of this colony labor." The coolness with which this impudent reversal of the truth was published by official lips has brought out some valuable testimony (which I find in the London *Herald of Peace*) respecting the oppressive class-legislation which has prevailed in Jamaica, and for which Gov. Eyre is in part responsible.

It is declared by the competent and responsible gentleman who makes this statement, that, ever since the West India emancipation, there has been a tendency in Jamaica legislation to press hardly on the agricultural laboring class. The vagrant laws passed shortly after emancipation were sufficiently severe, and were made grossly oppressive through a general want of honest and fair dealing among the planters towards the negroes. Since that time the Legislature has gradually, by successive enactments, made the laws more and more severe against the class of offences properly called "untrue trespasses," until they have become "larcenies" and "felonies." Pecuniary fines have been abolished for such offences, and imprisonment with hard labor has been substituted. For the second offence *flogging* is appointed; and young persons of either sex under sixteen years of age may, in lieu of other punishment, be assigned for five years to various sorts of domestic servitude.

In addition to this, a large class of offences has been positively created by statute, and subjected to the above penalties, namely, the stealing (so called) of any fruit, plant or cane, whether growing in enclosed or unenclosed land; so that the immemorial custom of plucking or picking up any of the abundant wild fruit of the island, in open or forest land, is punished by flogging, or by the treadmill, or by penal assignment to compulsory unpaid service for five years!

The rage of the Jamaica planters against the late G. W. Gordon is explained by the fact that he strenuously opposed this oppressive legislation in his place in the House of Assembly. Defeated there in his opposition to some of the worst of these enactments, he wrote an admirable letter to Secretary Cardwell on the subject, in which he not only pointed out the strong objections to such laws on the ground of humanity and sound policy, but described them as having been carried by a discreditable manœuvre of the official party at a late period of the session, in a very thin House.

A writer in another English paper, even in the act of apologizing for the Government of Jamaica, gives the following description of the distressed state of the colony, and its causes, corroborating the view above given, and showing the need of such action as that taken by Gordon:

"The high price of clothing, and a great drought with which the island was visited, brought the laboring classes into great misery. Many public meetings were held throughout the island, and the distress of the laborers was brought very prominently into view, and also many remedies suggested. Unfortunately, little sympathy was expressed by the leading men of the island for the people. The planters, being brought into great difficulties, have been latterly peculiarly severe upon the laborers. Many of the overseers are magistrates, and often are severe in punishing the people by fines and imprisonment, while the people have no redress. At present a great multitude are undergoing punishment for what no man in the island ever considered an offence. The common fruits of the country, growing near the road, in open pastures, were freely taken by all classes, I suppose, since the British landed upon the island. This was a great help to the laboring classes, and I believe did little injury to any one. It was like the law among the Jews, by which any traveller was permitted to pluck ears of standing corn as they passed through the fields. Depriving the people of such privileges, after their long enjoyment, produces a most powerful impression on popular feelings; and I cannot help believing that the hundreds, or perhaps thousands, who are now undergoing punishment for disregarding the orders of the planters in this matter, are becoming prepared for any seditious movement."

The part taken by Gov. Eyre in guiding the course of legislation may best be seen from his own words, addressed to the House of Assembly, as follows:

"The jails of the colony are filled with the young and the strong of both sexes, chiefly committed for theft; and though the value of the labor performed by prisoners during the past year has increased in proportion to their augmented numbers, being more than double what it was in 1861, it is clear that the punishments at present in force have not that deterring effect which should be the chief object of penal law. I believe, therefore, that a resort to whipping, and the re-establishment of a treadmill in the penitentiary, are absolutely essential to put a stop to a class of crime which is attaining a magnitude so serious and so detrimental to the best interests of the colony.

In addition to the establishment of more stringent measures within the walls of the penitentiary, you may probably find it desirable, considering the great increase in the number of prisoners, to authorize their being employed upon the roads or other public works, at a greater distance from the jails than at present takes place.

Then, at the close of the session, when his measures had been passed, the Governor says:

"The amendment of the law relating to prisoners, and the enactment of a law to punish certain offences by the infliction of corporal punishment, will, I believe, have a most salutary effect in repressing crime, and in enabling the executive to make the best arrangements for disposing of convicted offenders."

The inefficiency of such legislation to repress crime, and the enormous evil influence of it, have been already seen by all but the wilfully blind. But is not the state of things thus described in Jamaica a lesson of the highest importance to us in our present transition period? It needs to be written in letters of light, and proclaimed as with the voice of a trumpet before the American people, that the reason why Emancipation in Jamaica did not produce happiness and prosperity was because the Government still allowed the planters to grind the faces of the black poor with oppressive laws and customs; because the attempt was still made there, *and made by complicity of the Government*, to keep the laboring class a degraded class; because the state of slavery was replaced, not by freedom, such freedom as we white people claim and enjoy, but by something half-way between slavery and freedom, in short, because freedom to the blacks, in that guilty island, was assumed to be only a right to labor, and to take such wages for labor as they could get! Heaven grant our Congress wisdom enough to avoid this error; to decree full, ample, thorough freedom to the whole population; and to arrange that, until such freedom shall have been a few years in successful operation, the worst class of criminals in the land may be kept from participation in the enactment of its laws.

NORTH.

WESTERN OPINION.

[The following is from a private letter to the Editor of the STANDARD, by one of those thoughtful but little known persons everywhere found in the West.]

I AM out of patience with the Republican press. Its conductors, the best of them, place the President above the country, or in other words, they sustain him in a policy which they know must prove ruinous to the country. They see just as plainly as you and I do that he is usurping power most grossly, and using it in the interest of rebels and traitors, and yet there is not one in a hundred of them who dares to whisper a word of disapprobation. Nero fiddled, while Rome was on fire, but these editors are doing far more, they fan the flames which are consuming all that is worth preserving in our Government.

For my part, I have lost all hope for the country. Mr. Seward foreshadowed most truthfully the policy which has since been pursued, when he declared in the winter of '60–'61 that everything would be given up to save the Union, and later, when he said in Baltimore that the Union was of more importance than liberty for either the white or black man. From the breaking out of the rebellion to the present time, the policy of the Executive department has been to sacrifice the loyal people to conciliate the disloyal, and to make the matter worse, the President has to a great extent [illegible] the other departments and taken almost the whole control into his own hands.

Three years more of such management will suffice to place the Government more hopelessly under the control of the fiendish barbarians of the South than it has ever been.

A LITTLE ROUGH.—The Memphis *Appeal*, which appears to be, like the Richmond *Examiner*, under the control of an irrepressible [illegible] thus [illegible]:

"The Confederacy is gone, and while we hold in sacred reverence its glorious memories, and treasure in our heart of hearts those 'few in Sardis who did not defile their garments,' those noble breed of men and women who showed most true metal, the greater the sacrifices they were called upon to make, and who to the last gave an unreserved allegiance to their country, drinking

"Love in each life-drop that flowed from her breast,'
we, bitter rebels as we have been, can give the charity of silence to

'The slave
Whose treason like a deadly blight
Crept o'er the councils of the brave
To blast them in their hour of might.'

'Yes, we can give him or her the charity of silence. *If he sees fit to live in and seek a competence in the land he has betrayed, why let him eat the bitter bread of remorse in peace, and be assured that if a single element of a man remains with him, that bread will indeed be bitter.*"

DIVORCES OUT WEST.—During the past year, the courts of Chicago are said to have ground out 275 divorces, of which 177 were applied for by wives, and 99 by husbands. From this it would appear that the women were most anxious to return to the enjoyment of single blessedness. A lady of sixteen, who had been eight days a wife, had been granted a divorce from her husband on the ground of incompatibility of temper. Another had sought release from the silken bonds of matrimony because her brute of a husband had refused to allow her to go to the opera with an Italian count who lived in the attic, and cultivated mammoth whiskers and an antiquated guitar. The jury brought in her husband guilty of cruel and inhuman treatment, and released his victim. The West is what Paris used to be considered—the paradise of married women.

THE dead body of John H. Jackson, a colored man, was found on the Boston and Providence Railroad, at Fisher's Crossing, Attleboro', on Tuesday morning. At the coroner's inquest it appeared that Jackson, who came from Maryland, and who had served in the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, got on to the steamboat train at Mansfield, Monday evening. Having no money to pay his fare, and fearing he should be arrested, he jumped from the train. The jury found that the conductor was not to blame.—*Providence Journal.*

MRS. BAKER, who laid the foundation of the immense straw business of Massachusetts, by braiding the first straw bonnet in this country, is still alive at Dedham, Ms., and, though in her eightieth year still quite active. She lately braided for the fair of the Baptist Church, at Newton Corner, a fancy straw basket, with the word "Charity" entwined thereon, with several other articles. The basket was put up at auction, and sold after considerable competition for $400.

THE Chicago *Republican* advocates an amendment of the Constitution, leaving the question of suffrage to the States, as heretofore, "but prohibiting them from restricting it by reason of the race, or color or religion of the citizen;" and Mrs. Swisshelm of the *Reconstructionist* asks sensibly enough, "Why not add sex?"

THE Suffrage Bill, which passed the House last week, will probably come before the Senate after the Freedman's Bill is disposed of.

Our Washington Correspondence.

LETTER FROM MRS. FRANCES D. GAGE.

[The thanks of the STANDARD and all its readers are due Mrs. Gage for the following excellent communication:]

To the Editor of the Standard:

BEFORE this sheet can reach you by due course of mail, telegraphic wires will have flashed over every part of the nation the intelligence that the word "white" has been voted out of the Statute Books of the District of Columbia by the House of Representatives, by almost three to one. No one in the city dreamed of getting that bill before the House for days, and many said not for weeks to come; and, but that the "Lord makes the wrath of man to praise him," as Gen. Garfield said, it could not have been brought about.

Politically, I cannot follow the twists and turnings of the adverse party. But I do know that in this attempt to embarrass and divide the Republican party, by stripping the bill of all its amendments and then forcing it to an issue, thus hoping to stave it off till spring, they brought it to a most triumphant close and themselves into the most pitiable minority.

The gallery was full of the disfranchised class; full one thousand dark faces looking down upon those makers of law, that have so often by their acts declared that black men "have no rights which white men are bound to respect." Here they had sat day after day waiting this impending crisis. Patient, oh! how patient, and quiet and silent as the stars of night, looking down and on, to learn their fate.

The hardest and meanest abuse elicited no murmur; the coldest, cruelest thrust at this ill-starred race stirred no muscle of their faces to disgust or disrespect; well-dressed, decorous, earnest, faithful, trustful, the country's best and wisest had their fate in their hands, and they, not permitted to plead their own cause, bided their time.

The hour came at last. The shades of twilight were already dimming the splendors of that vast amphitheatre, and making sombre the gilding of arches and columns. The House was full of enthusiasm. Vote after vote was taken, every one clearing away the debris of opposition and bringing the naked bill nearer, and nearer to its final triumph. Spell-bound there they all sat. "Could it be possible that there, then and now such a work was to be completed? That the precedent should go out over the nation? That the peoples' representatives in Congress assembled should do this wonderfully good thing?"

The moment of triumph came, and as the yeas and nays were called, a man (shall we call him so? Aye, still a man) who had voted nay, rose trembling in his seat, turning white and red by turns, and begged to recall his vote. Voices cried out, "No, no, let him abide his first vote." But the majority ruled, and the poor man (I don't know his name, but you will get it) ranked himself with the defenders of justice and right in a majority. But when at last the calling of the yeas and nays was finished and the result proclaimed, the colored people rose *en masse*, and with one wild shout made that spacious gallery echo and re-echo their joy. Simultaneously the House was on its feet, and cheer and shout above and below, from black and white, women and men, filled the halls with a music that will now become popular on Capital Hill.

Vainly Speaker Colfax brought down his gavel. Joy must have its vent, and for some moments the uproar made all minor sounds inaudible.

Oh! what a rushing to and fro! Gen. Garfield's huge figure was seen rushing among the discomfited members of the opposition, congratulating them on the success of their movement. Wicked, and a little spiteful it might be of him; but then it is so nice to see people killed by their own weapons—how could he help it?

Now will the Senate confirm this measure? How can they help it? The people of to-day are not the people of thirty years ago; they will be heard, and their public servants are learning to know their will. The voice of the masses spoke through representatives to-day. Let us take courage; there will be no going back. Losses there will be—surges of the tide for a little, only to gather strength for a higher wave, a more mighty and overwhelming dash, that shall tear away all opposition and carry the nation with it over reefs and shoals unstranded into the haven of a true peace.

What of the freedmen? asks some one who has been confused by the ten thousand and ten conflicting reports. Are they suffering, are they starving, are they freezing in Washington? Yes. So are white people in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. But there is this difference between our white paupers and our colored ones—everybody has expected to maintain and support white paupers and an immense number of them, too, and have made provision for them, builded superb houses for them—asylums, homes, houses of refuge, juvenile schools, charity schools, reform schools, poor-houses and work-houses, and the whole thing is organized and arranged, and the city, town, or village taxes itself for its poor and makes no fuss about it. But here are fifteen or twenty thousand black freedmen, just out of bondage. Don't everybody know they "won't work without whips and chains and prisons?" "Aren't they niggers?" See how they wander about the streets, hunting work. And if they dont find it, what then? Oh, the depravity of the race! straightway, if the thermometer stands at ten below zero, what do they do but go to work and freeze themselves, or may be take a notion into their heads to be hungry, after going without food for twenty-four hours.

I stepped down to the office rooms of Mrs. Josephine Griffing, last Monday, well clothed and furred; but the wind drove its chill through my woollen gloves, flannel-lined over-boots, cloak, sontag and all. The [illegible] on my cheeks from sheer cold, and I thought as I trudged along, "God help the poor of this day."

I came in sight of this distributing office. A cloud of darkness, poverty, rags, hunger, cold, and suffering, confronted me; over a hundred of the freed people were gathered there to ask for help. The door was opened and in rushed these shivering wretches, out of the piercing winds. The room could not hold them. Nearly all came with tickets from members of the investigating committee testifying to their needs. I staid an hour, and still the stream came undiminished. What is the matter with these people? Have they been sick, burned out, swept out of home and comfort by flood or tide? Have they been spoiled by an enemy? What made them so poor?

Only this, as Old Aggy said in Vicksburg when they taxed her ten per cent. a month on her wages for the benefit of the poor of her own color:

"What, you tink I care for dat fifty cent a month? Missus, dat ar ain't nuthin. I bin done gone working for pore folks all my days. Oh, Jesus! how pore dem wor: dey took all my work, wouldn't gib me time to steep, took all my chillen, sold em for a thousand dollars apiece—ten on 'em; true, Missus, ten on 'em. And dem was so pore dey wouldn't let my own babies hab the milk God put into my own bosom for dem, just tuk it for dere own. Oh, Missus, dem was pore folk, sure. Wat you tink I care now for dis fifty cent a week to help dem black folks? You'ne lets me hab de tudder four dollar and fifty all myself. Oh, Missus, Old Aggy don't mind dat ar."

These suffering creatures have been working all their lives for a people so poor that they robbed them from their birth up, of labor, intelligence, health and strength, and hope of anything; and now, hungry, cold and almost naked, they cry for help. No work, no starting point, no organized or systematized pauper arrangement for them, as for the whites, for in all past time they were not to be paupers. No such blessed privilege was allowed them. It was the other party that were paupers, and lived upon their labors, constantly crying out, "They won't work without the whip." Well, here they are in Washington, and if a variety of "organizations" would secure them food, clothing, and shelter, surely they should not want. Home Missionary Society, National Freedmen's Aid Association, of New York; National Freedmen's Aid Society, of Washington; National Freedmen's Aid Commission, Freedmen's Bureau, and how many more, I know not, are here with their agents at work. Perhaps "too many cooks spoil the broth;" I don't know. Of one thing only am I sure. I have seen them grouped together in numbers asking relief, in condition, style and costume here in this great city, that would have made us, on the Sea Islands of South Carolina, feel, even in that sunny clime, that we should cry aloud for assistance, as Mrs. Griffing has done in the few weeks past. I have no blame to attach to any one; but when the question is asked me hereafter, notwithstanding I may see august reports to the contrary, and be assured on high authority that the great need is for schools, I shall know there are poor to be fed and clothed in Washington, and will be until they can have warmer weather, cheaper house rents, and chances to work. The same number of white people, with the same disabilities, the same poverty, could do no better than they.

F. D. GAGE.

Washington, Jan. 18, 1866.

CONGRESS.

IN the Senate on Saturday, Mr. Stewart asked leave to call up the bill for the admission of Colorado.

Mr. Sumner hoped that this would not be done, as he had an amendment to offer.

Mr. Stewart gave notice that he would call up the bill on Wednesday next. Colorado, it will be remembered, has a non-colored suffrage clause in her constitution.

Mr. Trumbull called up the bill to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau.

Mr. Cowan moved to amend by restricting the operations of the Bureau to the States lately in rebellion.

Mr. Trumbull said that this would have the effect of excluding Kentucky, Missouri, Delaware and Maryland, where there were many emancipated slaves who needed the protection of the Bureau.

Mr. Guthrie (Dem.) said there was no reason why Kentucky should be included in the bill. Kentucky did not want the relief proposed. The freedmen were a part of her population, and would be cared for as such. He believed the States themselves could take care of the freedmen much better than the Freedmen's Bureau. The bill before the Senate was providing for a "lazzaroni" throughout the Southern States, and Kentucky wanted no such thing within her borders. He was sorry to see the spirit that was manifested in Congress toward the Southern people, for he believed those people were honest and sincere in their professions of willingness and anxiety to return to the Union.

Mr. Pomeroy was glad to hear from Mr. Guthrie an admission that the Constitutional Amendment rendered null and void all slave codes and laws relative to slavery.

Mr. Guthrie said that was his opinion and that of a very able lawyer of Lexington, from whom he had received a letter on the subject.

Mr. Pomeroy continued his remarks, stating that he would do nothing to the Southern States for revenge, but only for security in the future.

Pending the discussion, the Senate adjourned.

MONDAY.—In the Senate the resolution to refer all papers and documents on the subject of Southern representation was called up, when Mr. Doolittle withdrew his amendment to add the words "except credentials, as he was satisfied the resolution was not intended to include credentials. The resolution was then passed. The bill to enlarge the powers of the Freedmen's Bureau was then called up. A lively debate took place on Mr. Cowan's amendment to limit the jurisdiction of the Bureau to States lately in rebellion. The amendment was finally disagreed to, by a vote of 11 to 33. An amendment to strike out the provision extending military jurisdiction and protection to the agents and employés of the Bureau was also disagreed to, as were two other amendments, offered by Mr. Saulsbury and Mr. Davis. The Senate then went into executive session, and soon after adjourned.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. On Monday, Mr. Williams offered a resolution that the head of the so-called Confederate government, and other leaders of the rebellion, should be tried by a military commission or court-martial, etc.

The resolution having been imperfectly read by the Clerk, its reading was again demanded by many members.

Mr. Chanler raised the question whether the gentleman (Mr. Williams) or the Clerk would be entitled to vote, one of them being unable to read and the other to write. (Laughter.)

Mr. Spalding suggested that the gentleman read it himself.

Mr. Williams accordingly proceeded to the Clerk's desk, and the Clerk with his aid read the resolution, which,

On the motion of Mr. Williams the resolution was referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

Mr. Stevens (of Pa.), from the Committee on Reconstruction, offered the following joint resolution:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid as a part of the Constitution: "Representation and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed; provided that whenever the elective franchise shall be denied or abridged in any State on account of race or color, all persons of such race or color shall be excluded from the basis of representation."

Mr. Stevens supposed that the members had been considering the question for six weeks. There were twenty-two States whose Legislatures were in session, some of which would adjourn in two or three weeks. It was therefore very desirable if the proposed amendment was passed at all, that it should be passed at once, so as to be acted upon by the Legislatures before their adjournment. It is proposed that if any class of persons were excluded, the States to that extent were not to be entitled to representation in Congress. It did not deny to States the right to regulate the elective franchise; but it did say, if you cut off naturalized persons or native born from any State in the Union from voting, that class of persons cannot form a part of the basis of representation.

Mr. Chandler (Dem.) asked whether the gentleman intended to pass the resolution now, or to move a postponement of its consideration to some future day.

A long discussion ensued, in which Messrs. Chandler, Wilson of Iowa, Randall of Pa., Schenck, Rogers and others bore prominent part. The most important speech was made by Mr. Conkling of New York. The main argument is condensed in the *Times* as follows:

Mr. Conkling said the principle of the pending amendment is that political representation does not belong to those who have no political existence. The slaves of the South were not members of that political society which framed the Constitution of the United States, being without acknowledged political rights, and in our system the anomaly, the nondescript. As it could not be maintained by the slaveholding States that slaves were persons to be represented, nor by the free States that slaves were persons to be taxed, it was agreed, as one of the compromises of the Constitution, that the free people of all the States should be counted alike, and should all have their fair share of power as thus ascertained, and that then the free people of the slaveholding States should have as much more power besides as would be measured by counting every slave as three-fifths of a person; direct taxes to follow the same rate. This covenant was operative so long as there was anything for it to operate upon; but that provision has become impotent, and we have nothing to rely upon in its place but the residue of the second section of the first article, which, owing to the rupture of the technical tie of slavery, would, as it stands, work out results now, which the Constitution was made, were condemned by the judgment of all. Four millions of people, once slaves, have become free persons, but have no political status, being emancipated but not yet enfranchised; what is to become of the power they represented? Where is it to go, if it be true, as we are told, that the blacks are unfit to wield even a fraction of power? There is no end of the controversy, for there is no place logically for this power to go, save to the blacks. If they are unfit to have it, it should not exist. Our fathers never dreamed of there being four million persons in the country unfit for political existence. They trusted to gradual and voluntary emancipation to go hand in hand with education and enfranchisement. The three-fifths clause gave slaveholding States, over and above their just representation, eighteen Representatives, besides the new census of 1860 will enable them to claim twenty-eight, beside their first proportion to be cast for those held not fit to be jurors, nor witnesses, nor plaintiffs in suits, nor voters. Shall one hundred and twenty-seven thousand white people in New York cast but one vote in this House and in the Electoral College, while the same number of white people in the South have two votes? Shall the death of slavery add two-fifths to the entire power which slavery had when slavery was living? Shall one white man have as much share in the government as two other white men, merely because he lives where blacks outnumber whites two to one? This is a privilege, clan, aristocracy in its most hateful form. It is not democracy, or republicanism, or free government at all. Three modes have been proposed to level this favoritism. First, to make the basis of representation in Congress and in the Electoral College of sufficiently qualified voters alone. Second, to deprive the States of the power to unqualify or discriminate politically on account of race or color. Third, to leave every State perfectly free to decide for itself, not only who shall vote, but who shall belong to its political community in any way, and thus to say who shall enter into its basis of representation and who shall be shut out. The last proposition has met the approval of the committee; the others have not. If voters alone should be made the foundation of representation the actual ratio would vary infinitely. One State might let women and minors vote; another might require only ten days residence if a voter were otherwise qualified; another might extend suffrage to aliens; another would lead to a [illegible] of unbridled suffrage. If suffrage were confined to male voters of twenty-one years of age and upward, great inequalities would arise. California may let her Chinese and half-breeds vote, Oregon her Indians, and any State its aliens. But with uniform State legislation this plan would create injustice toward the States in which women outnumber men, and from which young men go out to more boundless fields. But New-England would not lose a single Representative either by making white men or all men over twenty-one the basis of apportionment. Other inequalities would exist, which Mr. Conkling mentioned in detail. The second proposition touched upon the principle of rightful sovereignty, and denies to the people of the several States the right to regulate their own affairs in their own way. It meddles with a right reserved to the States when the Constitution was adopted, and to which they will long cling before they surrender it. Besides, most of the Northern States do not permit negroes to vote, and it would be futile to ask three-fourths of the States to do for themselves and all others, by ratifying such an amendment, the very thing which most of them refused to do in their own cases. The third proposition avoids, as far as the case admits of, all the objections of the other two. It contains but one condition, and that rests upon a principle already embodied in the constitution, as old as free government, viz.: That representation does not belong to those who have not political existence, but only to those who have. Every State will be left free to extend or withdraw the franchise as it pleases, impartially or to all, and this without losing anything in representation. In any State, so long as a race can be found which is so low, so bad, so ignorant, or so stupid that it is deemed necessary to exclude men from the right to vote merely because they belong to that race, in such case the race shall likewise be excluded from the sum of Federal power to which that State is entitled. The proposition thus provides for representation coextensive with taxation. It brings into the basis both sexes and all ages, and so it counteracts and awards, as far as possible, the casual geographical inequalities of population; it puts every State on an equal footing in the requirements prescribed, and leaves every State unfettered to enumerate all its people for representation just as it pleases. If suffrage is confined as it is now, taking the census of 1860 as the foundation of the calculation, and the number of representatives as it then stood, Wisconsin, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New Jersey and Maine would gain one Representative each, and New York would gain three; Alabama, Kentucky, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee would each lose one; Georgia, Louisiana and Virginia would each lose two, while Mississippi would lose three. In answer to the argument that "citizens of the United States," and not "persons," should be the basis of representation and apportionment, it may be said that the present Constitution is and always was opposed to this suggestion; that it would narrow the basis of taxation and cause considerable inequalities, and that many of the large States which are to pass upon the amendment now hold the representation in part by reason of their aliens.

The joint resolution was ordered to be printed, and, on motion of Mr. Stevens, was made the special order for Tuesday.

COLORADO.

SENATE, TUESDAY.—Mr. Sumner gave notice of the following amendment to be proposed to the bill for the admission of Colorado, as a proviso:

Provided, That this act shall not take effect except upon the fundamental condition that there shall be no denial of the elective franchise or any other rights on account of color or race, but all persons shall be equal before the law. And the Legislature of the State, by a solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the State to this fundamental condition, and shall transmit to the President of the United States an authentic copy of such assent whenever the same shall be adopted, upon the receipt whereof he shall, by proclamation, announce the fact; whereupon, without any further proceedings on the part of Congress, this joint resolution shall take effect.

[William J. Hardin a colored citizen of Colorado, telegraphs to Washington from Denver that negroes had the right of suffrage in that Territory until 1864, when they were deprived of it by a law signed by Gov. Evans, and that the admission of Colorado at this time would render their disfranchisement perpetual. He contradicts moreover the assertion made in the East that the enabling act had been complied with, especially that part requiring the Constitution to accord with the principles of the Declaration of Independence.]

HOUSE.—Endless [illegible] was the order of the day on Tuesday. Some eighteen or twenty members, if not more, gathered about the Constitutional Amendment question of Mr. Stevens, and it and its venerable author were half smothered with attentions. The most amusing if not important scene occurred in connection with Mr. Stevens' call for the previous question:

Mr. Sloan (Wis.) asked Mr. Stevens to withdraw his demand for his previous question, as he desired to offer an amendment.

Mr. Stevens—I cannot do it, and insist on the previous question.

Mr. Baker (Ill., in a persuasive tone)—I appeal earnestly and kindly to the gentleman from Pennsylvania to yield the floor for a very few minutes. (Applause.)

Mr. Stevens—The gentlemen is too polite. I cannot do it. (Laughter.)

Mr. Baker—I submit whether it is entirely proper to put through an amendment to the Constitution and refuse a word of debate, or one moment to raise an objection. As for myself, I protest against this course.

Mr. Stevens—I have only suggested what I have thought it our duty to do if the amendment is to pass the House. I have only submitted the question to the House. If the House desire to delay, they can do so by refusing to sustain the demand for the previous question.

Mr. Baker. Why not allow five or ten minutes' debate?

Mr. Stevens—It is not for me to say. I submit the question to the House. I think we ought to pass this joint resolution to-day.

Mr. Farnsworth—I submit that we have the five or ten minutes' debate. (Voices—"Say ten.") If that is not allowed, then I hope the House will vote down the previous question.

Mr. Bromwell (Ill.)—Gentlemen are not satisfied; there is a disagreement about the interpretation of the resolution.

Mr. Stevens—I will give the gentleman (Mr. Farnsworth) an opportunity to move a ten minutes' debate.

Mr. Voorhies—That is too much time. I suggest two minutes. (Laughter.)

Mr. Chanler—I propose an amendment—two minutes.

Calls of order from the Republican side.

Mr. Stevens—I am so much astonished at the exhibition on this side of the House that I withdraw the demand and leave the question to the House.

Another interesting episode grew out of a question of Mr. Brooks's, who wished to know whether the 100,000 Asiatics or coolies in California and Oregon, and those who are going into Nevada and the Territories, are excluded?

Mr. Stevens replied that he understood that Asiatics are excluded by the laws of California on account of race from the elective franchise, therefore that State to this extent would be curtailed of representation.

Mr. Brooks asked why exclude the Indian? Is he not a man of color?

Mr. Stevens replied.—"Indians not taxed are excluded by the Constitution."

Mr. Brooks—But why not include them?

Mr. Stevens—They are tribal, and have their own separate governments.

Mr. Brooks observed that Oregon, California, and Nevada were to be deprived of representation, and was not the Indian, as well as the negro, a man and a brother? To this he received no answer. He raised his voice in behalf of fifteen millions of his countrywomen, the rarest and brightest portion of our creation, and asked why they are to be deprived of representation. They are excluded from all voting. Why not recognize them as entitled to representation?

Mr. Stevens replied.—The amendment did not say they shall not vote.

Mr. Brooks resumed.—The ground on which it was presented was that this is a new era of progress. But not the Indian, but the negro, is to be treated as a man and a brother. But [illegible] the right of representation? Many members here hold in their possession a petition signed by Susan B. Anthony, and addressed to him, saying that a copy was sent to the Hon. Thaddeus Stevens last week, with a request that if the Committee on Reconstruction should not report favorably, they would, at least, not interpose any barrier to women enjoying the right to the ballot.

Mr. Stevens asked the gentleman whether he was in favor of granting the right of suffrage to women.

Mr. Brooks replied that he preferred his own color, and white women above the negroes. (Applause.)

Mr. Stevens.—Are you in favor of such an amendment?

Mr. Brooks.—Such an amendment ought to come from the other side. (Applauding.)

At a late hour Mr. LeBlond moved that the House go into Committee of the Whole on the State of the Union, and that the debate therein be restricted to each speaker 20 minutes.

Mr. Stevens objected.

Mr. Lawrence (Ohio) moved that the resolution be re-committed, with instructions to amend: First, to apportion direct taxation among the States according to the property in each, and second, to apportion representation among the States on the basis of adult male voters who may be citizens of the United States.

ADJOURNMENT.

Mr. Washburne (Ill.) objected, and the House then adjourned.

OBITUARY.

DIED, on the 30th of Dec., 1865, at her home, in Christiana, Pa., ANN COATES, aged 73 years.

One by one, the devoted and heroic band of the early Abolitionists pass away, and among them probably none more truly obeyed the injunction to remember those in bonds as bound with them, than our departed friend. The intensity of her nature manifested itself in her love of the right; and any departure from what she deemed justice in the treatment of others pained her sensitive spirit. Diffident, self-sacrificing, a tender mother, a friend warm and faithful through good report and evil report, she was much endeared to those who truly knew her. Living in a neighborhood where, a few years since, the slave-hunters often prowled, and, pouncing upon poor fugitives, bore them away to hopeless bondage, these scenes of wild, fearful and awful romance profoundly impressed her, and the woes of the slave became the burden of her life. Her benevolent feelings were enlisted on behalf of the suffering everywhere, but the welfare and elevation of the colored people were especially near to her heart, and the blessings of some of these rest upon her pure memory. The slowness of the Society of Friends, of which she was a member, in manifesting an active interest in emancipation caused her much sorrow.

Her last illness was protracted, and attended with much suffering but she was able to read, and to the last day of her life she kept unabated her deep interest in all that concerned the welfare of the country, and the advancement of society.—*Com.*

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Edited by

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RATIFICATION.—The Colored Citizens and their friends of New York and vicinity will celebrate the ratification of the Abolition of Slavery in the United States, at Cooper Institute, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, Jan. 31. The Rev. J. SELLA MARTIN will deliver the Oration. The Hon. FRED. DOUGLASS, will address the meeting, also, the Hon. Mr. TAPPAN, the Hon. THEODORE TILTON, and the Rev. GEO. B. CHEEVER, are invited, and are expected to be present and take part in the meeting. The proceeds of the meeting will be used to sustain our Delegate to Congress during this session.

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Miscellaneous Department.

THE BROKEN PLEDGE.

BY A. J. H. DUGANNE.

["I, Andrew Johnson, hereby proclaim liberty, full, broad, and unconditional liberty, to every man in Tennessee! I will be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of struggle and servitude to a future of liberty and peace! Rebellion and Slavery shall no more pollute our State. Loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone govern the State."—*Andrew Johnson, Nashville, Oct.* 25, 1864, *and April* 3, 1865.]

'Twas a brave day in Nashville,
And brave it well might be,
When twice five thousand freedmen
Came up from Tennessee;
And Andrew Johnson bade them
Bless God that they were free!
His words to all those freedmen
Were sweet as life could be,
Sweet as our dear Lord's gospel
In wondrous Galilee:
"I, Andrew Johnson, hereby
Proclaim" (so thundered he),
"Full, broad and unconditional,
The rights of liberty"
(Thus spoke the chief) ' to every man
In the land of Tennessee!
And I will be your Moses,
And lead you through the sea,—
Through the Red Sea of Servitude,
To a future of liberty!"

Oh! 'twas a thing to glad you,
A thing to make you weep,
To see ten thousand slaves arise,
Like Samson from his sleep,
And over their whips and fetters
Like children dance and leap!
To see their faith, so childlike,
As up from Slavery's rack
Arose the branded forehead,
Arose the bended back,
And the soul emerged, in sunlight,
Beyond its temple black
To hear bold Andrew Johnson
Proclaim, with voice so free,
"True men alone, whether white or black,
Shall govern Tennessee!
And I will be your Moses!
And lead you through the sea—
Through the Red Sea of servitude.
To a future of liberty!"

Oh, what a throb of life-blood
Thrilled up from Tennessee,
When all those loyal freedmen,
With shouts of childlike glee,
Cried out to Andrew Johnson,
"Our Moses thou shalt be!"
Oh! what a sound of gladness!
A crash, like breaking chains,
A flash, as of fire electric,
That flooded heart and veins!
When Andrew Johnson answered,
"So be it! as God ordains!
No longer shall rebellion,
No more shall Slavery
(Thus spoke bold Andrew Johnson),
Pollute our Tennessee!
For I will be your Moses!
To lead you through the sea,—
Through the Red Sea of servitude,
To a future of liberty!"

Back to their homes deserted,
And back to life-long toil,
The branded brows, the bending necks,
The yearning souls, recoil;
They wait for Andrew Johnson
On all the Southern soil.
Behind them lies their bondage,
And there the Red Sea rolls;
The Wilderness before them
Unwinds its desert scrolls;
They wait for Andrew Johnson,
With dumb and tearful souls!
In all the fair, wide Southland
They wait on weary knee
For him who bade them trust him,—
For him who said, "Be free!
And I will be your Moses,
To lead you through the sea,—
Through the Red Sea of servitude,
To a future of liberty!"

—*The Right Way.*

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

From the Reader.

"The life of a Sidney would have been a finer subject for the panegyric of a Pliny than the biography of a Plutarch;" and there is so much which contributes to shed a halo of melancholy splendor upon the career of this Elizabethan paragon, that the skill of an artist who can dispense with a background is wanted to draw him in a proper light. A brave soldier, a consummate courtier, equally able to fascinate maids of honor and to win the admiration of diplomatists, not less wise in council than rich in imagination, a graceful poet and a skilful ambassador—he united in one person great variety of gifts. The same power which enabled him to charm the ears of ladies with his graceful sonnets attracted to him the attention and the awe of foreign nations and potentates. His eyes languished in love, and kindled in war; and yet with this versatility of talents he preserved his principles intact. To deny that he lacked weaknesses or faults, as some have done, would be to arrogate for him a higher lot than human. Placed in the midst of allurements and temptations of every kind, the victim of an almost overwhelming popularity, it is not too much to say that his purity is at least matter for surprise. And when to all this we add the irresistible charm which a premature and gallant death upon the battle-field of Zutphen cannot but impart, it would be difficult to contemplate the man without the wish to dwell rather upon his virtues than to detect his faults. So his name has been beset by extravagant eulogy. Only one exception is to be found, and that of such a character that the one dissentient voice has had the effect of intensifying a chorus of laudation. Lord Oxford, who sought celebrity through singularity, who was led by jealousy to abuse those whom he fain would emulate, has alone ventured to raise his protest against Sir Philip Sidney. There are some whose virtues and glories are not discovered to their contemporaries; like mosaics, they must be viewed at a distance, and they are never seen to their best advantage till gazed at by posterity through the intervening medium of years. Such has not been Sidney's fate. His tutor could think of no more honorable epitaph than that which proclaimed to the world the relation in which he had stood to his pupil; and Lord Brooke deemed the fact that he was the friend of Sir Philip Sidney not less worthy of inscription on his tombstone than that he was the servant of Elizabeth and the counsellor of James.

The boyhood of Sidney, as of Gray, seems to have been characterized by an almost melancholy reserve. While finding his delight in poetic contemplation, he was imbued with a passion for military fame. Nor is this wonderful. There still lingered about the age in which he lived the lustre of the departing glories of chivalry. Its grossness was toned down, and its poetry remained. A continental tour, following a career at Christ Church, whither he had been sent "to be improved in all sorts of learning," remarkable for more than one event, completed Sidney's education. Thus he formed the acquaintance of Hubert Languet, which rapidly ripened into a more than ordinary friendship; or, in his own words:

> The song I sang old *Languet* had me taught·
> *Languet*, the shepherd best swift Toter knew;
> For clearkly read, and hating what is naught,
> For faithful heart, clean hands, and mark as true,
> With his sweet skill my skilless youth he drew
> To have a feeling task of him that sits
> Beyond the heaven; far more beyond your wits.

Vienna, Venice, and Padua were all visited, and each in turn became the seat of Sidney's study. More than once did Languet tremble lest the corrupting influences of Italian society should violate the purity of his youthful pupil's manners, which were now "whiter than snow." But Philip passed through the ordeal untouched, and returned to England the most accomplished gentleman of his day. He stayed sufficiently long at home to establish himself as one of the favorites of Queen Elizabeth, who delighted to call him "her Philip," and by whom he was soon appointed ambassador at the Court of Vienna. After a few years of successful diplomacy, and a gay Court life, we find him at Wilton, the seat of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Pembroke, engaged in the composition of his "Defence of Poesy," and projecting the scheme of his "Arcadia." But Sidney's mind was typical of that class which, while always anxious for it, ever grows restless in repose. He constantly expresses himself "desirous to fly from the light of his Court, and to betake himself to the privacy of secluded places to escape the tempest of affairs;" and yet is ever eager for action. The truth is that excitement was essential to his existence; and [illegible] the round of Court offices which [illegible] time became irksome; neither the political occupation of a member of Parliament, which he subsequently tried; nor the unvaried retirement of the poetic or philosophic recluse, suited him so well as the shifting scenes of the soldier's career, interspersed by occasional brief periods of solitude. Like the Athenian people, who required to be constantly stimulated by action, and sometimes to be lulled into tranquillity, Sidney was only happy when his hours were divided between the various labors of the camp and the quiet necessary for the exercise of his thoughts or of his pen. He was, indeed, a thorough representative of his times, and united in himself all their tendencies.

There is something singularly attractive about the "Defence of Poesy." In it, as in everything which Sidney said or did, may be traced the hand of the enthusiast. He loves to espouse on every occasion the weaker, if not the better side; and the low repute into which poetry had fallen imparts zeal and fire to his defence. But his imagination does not interfere with a strictly logical arrangement, and his reasoning is close and contracted throughout. The advantages which the poet enjoys in the enforcement of high and noble lessons, far superior to those which fall to the lot of the historian and philosopher, are set forth in glowing terms, and thus the dignity and splendor of the poet's function are at once vindicated; "and so a conclusion not unfitly ensues, that as virtue is the most excellent resting-place for all worldly learning to make an end of, so poetry, being the most familiar to teach it, and most princely to move towards it, in the most excellent work is the most excellent workman." The whole treatise is a happy combination of heart and head, and may be rightly said to have been a labor of love. But criticism, as well as enthusiasm, is there; and acute and pungent remarks abound. The author's verdict on the state of contemporary poetry is as interesting as it is just. With the exception of Chaucer and the Earl of Surrey, he "remembers to have seen few (to speak boldly) that have poetical sinews in them."

There are two points, and two only, in which Sir Philip Sidney resembles Byron—first, he was a diligent advocate of the dramatic unities; and secondly, he found his pleasure in the camp as well as in song. But Byron never permitted his principles to interfere with his practice; while the mental rules which Sydney established regulated all he performed in action or in song. His prose style is not free from fault, but when compared with the "Euphues" of Lilly—which up to this time had been the recognized model both in conversation and literature—the advance now visible is marvellous. If he may well be called in parts "a sweet warbler of poetic prose," there are many occasions in which his melody is apt to degenerate into unmeaning jingle, and, as has been the case with not a few authors both before and after him, he is at such times the victim of mere sound.

In the poetical achievements of the author of the "Defence of Song," our expectations may very possibly be disappointed. His best known poems are to be seen in the collection of songs and sonnets entitled "Astrophel and Stella," and they hint to us the fact that our chivalrous knight, though *sans peur*, may not altogether have been *sans reproche*. Lady Rich, at the time of his own marriage to Francis Walsingham, was Penelope Devereux, and, though she did not possess his hand, seems, under the name of Stella, to have retained his heart. Sir Philip, indeed, declares that "he never loved but her," and in the course of 108 sonnets and eleven songs loses no opportunity of enlarging upon his passion. What Lady Sidney's views were on these subjects we do not know: possibly the constantly repeated assertion of her husband that the object of his praises was "most beautiful and virtuous, being rich in piety and all other gifts and graces"—may have imparted to these impassioned effusions the character rather of an offering of respect than a tribute of love. And yet such lines as the following seem hardly calculated to promote connubial confidence or felicity:

> Stella, think not that I by verse seek fame—
> Who seek, who hope, who live but thee:
> Thine eyes my pride, thy lips my history;
> If those praise not, all other praise is blame.

It was, however, the tendency of Sidney's mind to identify, as far as possible, beauty with virtue—as plainly visible in his prose and poetry as in the "Platonic Dialogues"—and we may reasonably and charitably suppose that an ardent and imaginative mind would avail itself of many expressions which might seem to convey other sentiments than those of mere admiration. While there are many of these sonnets which are far too artificial, and evidently only elaborated with much toil, there are also many which, from being autobiographical, cannot fail to be attractive. Each external object in nature seems to suggest to him some corresponding state of his own mind; and, according to his mood, he could detect in all around him traces of gladnes or grief. Lunacy, in a restricted sense, might be predicated by our sonneteer:

> With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb'st the skies!
> How silently—and with how wan a face!—
> What! may it be—that even in heavenly place,
> That busy archer his sharp arrows tries?
> Sure if that long-with-love-acquainted eyes
> Can judge of love, thou feel'st a lover's case;
> I read it in thy looks; thy languish'd grace,
> To me, that feel the like, thy state descries.

There is a strange mixture in these poems of impulse and conventionalism: in the former we may see their author as, of his own nature, he is; in the latter way we may witness the influence exercised upon him by a study of Italian models.

In the "Arcadia" we have a singular sweetness and felicity of diction. When we take it up we seem to have retired, as it were, from the glare of the sun into some dense and cooling forest; but between the branches of the overarching trees the sunshine still streams in; and thus, though Sir Philip Sidney takes us back into the simplicity of a remote age, the glare and glitter of the world still occasionally dazzle us. If we read of the quietude of the country, of still waters, and soothing breezes, there suddenly flashes before us some bright tournament or joust. The hero of chivalry and the country swain are very near together. All the characters are noble and good; in none is there anything ordinary, anything mean. Imagination thus becomes the handmaid of virtue. Its glades are somewhat like those of Versailles. The very grandeur of the avenues indicates the neighborhood of the palace of a Great King. We catch the sound of rushing waters, but is it not the falling melody of the *Grandes Eaux?* If in his verses affectation and conceit are sometimes to be found, there was at least nothing of the kind in his actual life. Above all things he was natural. He did nothing for effect, whether in the drawing-room or the battle-field. He is consistent throughout. It was quite in the spirit of Roderick Dhu, alone with his enemy by Koilantogle Ford, that he cast off his greaves, as he rode into the battle; he would have no advantage over the marshal of the camp.

There are three cups of water which will be famous to all time. One was poured out on the Asiatic sands, and one is, we trust, never wanting somewhere; the third has washed out many of the stains of chivalry, and is dearer to Englishmen than all the streams that ever slipped away from the hills of Arcadia.

The Weaker Sex.—The weaker sex? Emile Villars bids the world ponder on its old verdict. He has made his calculations. When an average lady begins her toilet in the morning, she weighs something between seventy-five and eighty pounds. A frail, feeble creature is this; a tender flower; a sample of the weaker and persecuted sex! Weak? Let the reader reflect. She will carry, before she is completely equipped for the Bois de Boulogne, ninety-five yards of textile fabrics of various qualities and weights, from lawn to velvet. Then follow the shawl, the bonnet, and the veil, studded with steel ornaments. And now for jewelry and decorations of all kinds, combs, diadems, bandelettes, chains, buckles, necklace, ear-rings, false hair, frisettes, powder, paint, high-heeled boots! M. Emile Villars, in brief, has figured the weight that "the weaker sex" easily carries, summer afternoons, to the Blois, in the shape of toilette. This weight is, he tells us, a little more than eighteen pounds—exactly the weight of a carbineer's breastplate! This breastplate the carbineer bears only on horseback; whereas the weaker sex dances under her load. Simple folks visiting the tower have wondered how the brave men of old bore and fought in the massive armor on show there; how much greater should their wonder be to see "the weaker sex" dancing under the weight of a modern beauty's complete costume.

The Cost of Luxuries Ninety Years Ago.—One cannot help smiling or wondering in 1865 that such things could be done for the money even ninety years ago as are related by Gibbon, the historian, in a letter to a friend, on his second visit to Paris in 1775: "You may add to the pleasures of society those of the grand spectacles, and you will find that I had a very agreeable life. Let me just condescend to observe that it is not extravagant. After decking myself out with silks and silver, the ordinary establishment of coach, lodging, servants, eati[illegible]t expenses do not exceed £60 per [illegible] have two footmen in handsome liver[illegible] coach, and my apartments are

GENTLEMANLY BEGGARS.

From the Saturday Review.

A large field is open to any enterprising person who will thoroughly throw himself into the defence of underrated Biblical characters. An attempt has sometimes been made to furbish up some of the shadiest specimens, but the attempt has hitherto fallen flat upon the world. A good deal, however, remains to be said about a great many of them, and if some Bampton Lecturer would only once take for his subject the brutes of the Old and New Testament, we have no doubt some would turn out to have had considerable redeeming points. The unjust steward is perhaps an instance to the point. About the unjust steward we know three things. He embezzled his master's money, or at least he cooked his master's accounts, and it was certainly very wrong of him to do so. The second feature about him of which we are told is, that he could not dig—a venial weakness, though not an uncommon one, even among gardeners, when paid by the week. Thirdly, we are told that to beg he was ashamed; and this certainly strikes one as a quality so remarkable as not to deserve to be passed over in a summary way. A man who is ashamed to beg cannot be entirely abandoned, and if he peculates, a French jury would perhaps be justified in asserting that he peculates under extenuating circumstances. Begging, if not defensible in theory, is certainly a far more honorable occupation than is usually supposed. Mr. De Quincy once wrote a treatise in which murder was treated as an artistic and exemplary profession; and if a Mendicity Society were but thoroughly organized, we do not feel sure that it might not in argument beat the Anti-Mendicity Society out of the field. The apologist of mendicancy would probably ask first, in a tone of injured innocence, what there was wrong in begging? The answer would be, that a man ought to work, and not to beg. But, in return, the missionary of the cause of mendicity [illegible] case of a man who combined the tw[illegible] very hard every day at begging. Tw[illegible] melancholy progress up and down [illegible] company with a wall-eyed dog, only [illegible] performance of the most doleful sac[illegible] is evidently as trying work to the co[illegible] as planting potatoes or picking stones. The beggar who retires at the end of it to his mutton-chop and his glass of stout has a right to consider that he has fairly earned a quiet and comfortable evening, and his dog has done as good a day's hunting as if he had been in a turnip-field after birds. And if the beggar is taunted with an attempt to enjoy what other men have earned, the beggar has always the resource of pointing to the many noblemen and gentlemen who are apparently designed by Providence to spend their time in a similar way. If a duke may lawfully wish to enjoy what his fathers have handed down to him, the Mendicity Society might urge that the beggar cannot be wrong in wishing to spend what the duke or the tradesman has accumulated. It may indeed be said that the beggar's daily labor, however real and severe, does not add to the general wealth of society, and therefore ought to be discouraged. His friends would at once reply that the line between unproductive and productive labor cannot be definitely drawn. Much work that seems at first sight unproductive to the political economist is indirectly productive of a great deal. War, for example, appears *primâ facie* to be a mere blazing away of gunpowder, coupled with a vast destruction of human life; yet in the present imperfect condition of things war adds very often, in the end, to the world's wealth. The expenditure of money on art or on religion is to be justified in the same way by the result; and the beggar may put it, that his occupation, idle as it seems, helps to cultivate and keep alive the philanthropic sentiments of mankind. A logical beggar's advocate would doubtless conclude that, every time that a policeman requested a beggar to move on, the policeman was knocking on the head an institution of much moral and social value. If the unjust steward had only considered the matter from a philosophical point of view, he might have been led to question the soundness of the very highminded instinct that interfered with his going into the mendicity line. The Roman Catholic Church, at all events, may be said to lend the sanction of religion to this position. For fear beggars should diminish below the proper number, it has created order upon order of religious mendicants. And, within the pale of the English Establishment, Brother Ignatius adopts precisely the same principle. His reason for depending exclusively for subsistence on the pots of mar[illegible] rolls which the faithful of N[illegible] that he desires to keep Norwic[illegible] mark. The more one reflects [illegible] one disposed to stand aghast [illegible] and the scruples of the unjust s[illegible]

If the professional beggar wa[illegible] tification to add at the top of an already impregnable position, he might turn with pride and complacency to the many members of his profession who achieve distinguished eminence in the Church, at the Bar, and in the civil and diplomatic services. The habit of bestowing patronage and place upon importunate applicants is thoroughly recognized in all of them. It is not a certain rule that, if a man goes on opening his mouth wide enough and long enough, somebody will fill it; but if a man goes through life with his mouth shut, he finds the difference in his old age. The police, it is true, only interfere with a certain class of beggars. Policemen draw a rough practical line at hurdy-gurdies, monkeys, and distressed weavers. And it is evidently for the public convenience that they should do so. Practitioners in this line of business ought to be really eminent before they venture on button-holing a charitable public, and a first-rate beggar ought to be above going about with a dog, accosting well-dressed people in the Queen's highway. But it is not to the principle in itself that policemen can consistently object. A profession which is respected in private life by Cabinet Ministers, and Bishops, and Judges, and the Lord Chancellor, and the Commander-in-Chief, cannot really be discreditable, or worthy of the contempt of a reflective constable or parish officer. Ragged persons have contracted a gross, clumsy way of doing it; but in itself begging is a noble profession, and may even be considered as a fine art. A late distinguished academical dignitary used to be in the habit of recommending the study of the Greek language to his poorer undergraduates, on the ground that a knowledge of Greek frequently led in this world to places of great emolument. In this respect, begging and a knowledge of the Greek language may be deemed to stand upon almost an equal footing. Events teach us all that both are usually lucrative and successful, and, if we were to choose between them, many bishops might find it difficult, from their personal experience, to pronounce that the advantage lay on the side of knowledge of the Greek language. The progress of modern society may indeed be said to be in favor of the institution. It is very often stated, as a proof of the superiority of the manner in which American wealth is distributed among the masses, that not a beggar is to be seen in the streets of New York. Anything that adds to the comfort of honest mendicity, and protects it against the inclemency of the weather, is so much social gain; and it is a pleasure to know that, while some of the beggars of the Old World have to live chiefly in the streets, American beggars are, as a rule, to be found cheerily congregated in the antechambers of the President and his official advisers. Nobody supposes, not even an American, that the great principle of asking for what you want has gone out of fashion on the other side of the Atlantic, though it is something to be able to feel sure that those who spend their time and efforts in asking are, upon the whole, well-fed and tolerably dressed. More they would not, perhaps, themselves desire—at any rate, if they knew their best interests. If they ceased to be poor, they might reasonably feel, like the Ephesian folk of whom we read, that their staple means of livelihood was gone. It is an established truth that a beggar with a hungry wife and family is in reality better off than a single man, and the consequence is, that babies have always been at a premium in the London market. The superiority of America consists, not in the fact that poverty has ceased, but that paupers look higher than they do in other countries, and are provided with a roof to stand under and chairs to sit upon while they are in the act of begging.

It is by no means easy to draw an exact line of demarcation between gentlemen beggars and beggars who are snobs. One might have been tempted to believe that the distinction lay between those whose claims were based solely on the plea of poverty, and those who based them on other grounds. But, as a matter of fact, this distinction will never hold water. The gentleman beggar, who wants a larger living, or a place in the Post-Office, or a County Court Judgeship, or a Consulship at Timbuctoo, is always a deserving man; but, if he is wise, he is also a man who would be thankful for the addition to his slender means. He does not post up outside his door, in so many words, that he is starving; but he gives kind Christian benefactors, and charitable Bishops, and Home or Colonial Secretaries, to understand that his income is shaky, and his family steadily on the increase. One difference between the gentleman and the vagrant is that the gentleman gets his friends to help him. His cousins and his wife's cousins are all [illegible] with a genuine enthusiasm on his behalf, and chalk up his pitiable condition for him under the very nose of all who are cursed with the misfortune of having patronage to give away. It is a pity that feminine talent is excluded by cruel conventionalities from its natural sphere—the pulpit: for nobody can compare with women in their power of dwelling on the deserts and the poverty of their many friends who are in the public mendicity business. They take round the plate at dinners and at evening parties with uniform grace and untiring assiduity, and they generally finish by obtaining what they want. One broad difference, therefore, between the gentleman and the vagrant is that the gentleman has a staff of unpaid female coadjutors, while the vagrant depends entirely on his own efforts. The result of this is that gentlemanly mendicity is very catching. When Peter the Hermit took to preaching up Crusades, his example converted whole multitudes who heard him into fanatical and furious missionaries of the cause. Every one went about maintaining that Jerusalem was the right place to go to, and what everybody says always ends in being accepted as the truth. As soon as the gentleman begins to ask, and to set his feminine acquaintances in motion, before long a little army of canvassers has been organized in his favor. The enthusiasm runs like wildfire, and is as contagious as the cattle disease. People he never heard of and never saw, and whom he never perhaps will hear of again until he dies, are rushing about all over Downing street making his sacred cause their own, and before he knows where he is, his name has become a sort of watchword among a party of the most determined advocates. If he does not end by becoming the representative of Her Majesty at Timbuctoo after all this, he is a very unlucky person. On the first occasion, he is very likely distanced by some older gentlemanly beggar, but when the claims of prior importunity have been satiated the chances are that he will have his turn. Nor is this the sole vantage ground that raises him over his brother professional mendicants, [illegible]om society very properly leaves at the mercy of [illegible] police. Being a man of educated and refined [illegible]d, he has a thousand little indirect ways of re[illegible]enting his neediness, which escape inferior and [illegible]ar natures. Every occupation has its peculiar [illegible] recognized methods of indirect begging, and [illegible]has only to select the best and most polite of these. Perhaps nothing is better, if he happens to be in orders, than to entreat the Bishop of his Diocese to stand godfather to his infant children. A bishop must be a very proud and haughty potentate to refuse so modest an application, and when his lordship has amply provided for the necessities of his clerical sons, and his clerical sons-in-law, he naturally turns his eye on the humble parson who has shown such a proper anxiety about the sponsorial welfare of his progeny. The fashion of asking Judges to stand godfathers to the infants of briefless barristers has never yet come into fashion—partly, perhaps, owing to the want of spiritual tone and religious feeling on the Bench. Nature, however, has given the briefless barrister his own means of defending himself against want, and he takes the first opportunity of using them. The legal mendicant is suddenly seized with a violent determination to go out as Attorney-General to the South Sea Islands, and he at once applies to the great men of his profession for testimonials. As a lawyer must be indeed a melancholy creature who is not qualified to be Attorney-General at Otaheite, the testimonials are not likely to be refused. Circumstances prevent the applicant from following up his application, but it is human nature to feel kindly towards those to whom we have presented testimonials, and the briefless mendicant has not lost by the affair. A still more thorough step towards obtaining an honest competency is to write a pamphlet. The general opinion happens possibly to be that the Ministry are wrong in not hanging a thoughtless person who, in a moment of weakness, has had the misfortune to murder two or three of his children, his wife, and his wife's immediate connections. The briefless mendicant combats public opinion, and shows that the Ministry acted throughout from the sternest sense of duty. If with this he is fortunate enough to be the father of ten children, his position is probably secured.

There is one objection to the profession of gentlemanly mendicity which ought certainly not to be passed by. It seems difficult to conceive how it is possible to combine it with independence of character. A man who has paraded his poverty before his friends, and solicited, on numberless occasions, their charitable intervention, might be thought by the censorious, for the sake of tip, to forfeit, as the Roman poet says, what makes life worth having. The answer to this specious objection is two-fold. In the first place, the gentlemanly beggar soon grows hardened. He ceases before long to mind the little discomforts of his occupation. If the unjust steward had once begun to beg in a kindly spirit, he would have found it come very easy before long. In the second place, many will be of opinion that it is not so unequivocally clear that what a man gains is not more than what he loses. Life is very short, and soon over, and modern Epicurean philosophy teaches us to make it as comfortable as possible while it lasts. Good wine, a good hat, and a fair social position may be really worth more than an independent turn of soul, and a liking to stand on a moral equality with the richest and most influential of our acquaintances. The end of existence is, perhaps, sufficiently attained by arriving at a decent income, even if one has had to ask for it up and down the drawing-rooms of London. This is one theory of life; and life being, as we said, very short, who can decide, peremptorily, that it is not the wise one? As all of us are at all times dependent, whether we choose it or not, on the kind offices of friends, it may seem thin-skinned to be anxious to be as little dependent on them as possible. Gentlemanly mendicity is, accordingly, neither extravagantly below the standard of popular morality, nor likely to die out of the land, and though the people who refrain from begging their friends to beg for them are likely to be more deserving of friendship, begging is a very grand profession. It is needless to say that, when carried on within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Police, it becomes at once improper and immoral.

NO MORE AMERICAN BOOKS.

From Harper's Weekly.

Unless the Commission which has the revision of the Revenue Law in charge should recommend a modification of the tax on printed books, and Congress should act upon the recommendation, we shall soon cease to print any books at all. A more careful study of the facts leads us to the conclusion that our recent estimate of the relative cost of books printed here and the same books printed in England was too liberal to the foreign printer; we now judge that a book can be printed and published in England for *one-third* the cost of the same book here. Of course, under such circumstances, the tariff proves no obstacle whater to importations, and should the present state of things continue, it is clear that, in the course of a few months, the publication of American books will be reduced to those works which cannot be produced abroad.

It is understood that the Revenue Commission is favorable to a reduction of the internal duties on books—fifteen in number, as they have been calculated. It should be hoped that they will lose no time in laying their views before Congress. In order to aid them in their deliberations, we present a single item, which is a fair sample of scores:

The *Sunday Magazine* is a periodical published in London, the price being *sixpence* a copy, exclusive of postage. Of this Magazine 10,000 copies are imported for sale in this country, the importers affirming that the market value in England is *three farthings* a copy. Upon this, by the present law, they pay a duty of 25 per cent.—that is three-fourths of a farthing, making the whole cost here to them, duty included, just 3¾ *farthings*, a little less than two cents a copy or $200 for the whole 10,000. The importers, moreover, demand here twenty-five cents for the Magazine, the market volue of which in England, and upon which only they pay duty, they declare to be only three farthings, We shall follow up this case by other instances, of which we have at hand more than a score.

Now let us see what the cost of the bare manufacture of these 10,000 copies would be in this country at present prices. After a careful calculation we find that the paper, composition, stereotyping, press-work, and folding of the Magazine would cost here, for 10,000 copies 14 *cents* a copy, instead of *three farthings*, its alleged market value in England. This includes only the bare cost of manufacture, making no allowance for literary and artistic labor and the cost of the engravings.

Upon these 10,000 copies the importers pay a duty of only three-fourths of a farthing, while the 15 separate taxes imposed by law upon the American manufacturer amount to at least four cents. In other words, we "protect" the British manufacturer of books by imposing upon him by way of duty only one-fifth as much as is paid by the American manufacturer in direct taxes upon raw material and labor alone.

If this continues, one of two things is inevitable. The manufacture of books here will cease, and the great amount of labor involved in it directly and indirectly, must find other channels; or the labor must be paid for at English "starvation rates.' Practically, both results will ensue. Three-fourths of our printers will be out of employment, and the others will receive pay at British rates; and all for the benefit of our British friends.

CONSTITUTION

LIFE SYRUP,

COMPOSED OF

IODIDE POTASSIUM,

With the Compound Concentrated Fluid Extract of

VALUABLE MEDICINAL

ROOTS AND HERBS.

A positive and specific remedy for all diseases originating from an IMPURE STATE OF THE BLOOD, and for all (hereditary) DISEASES transmitted from PARENT TO CHILD.

SCROFULA.

STRUMA. GLANDULAR SWELLINGS. ULCERATION.
KING'S EVIL. ERYSIPELAS. SALT RHEUM.

This taint (HEREDITARY and ACQUIRED), filling life with untold misery, is by all usual medical remedies incurable.

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[ARTHRITIS.] NEURALGIA. GOUT.
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If there is any disease in which the Constitution Life Syrup is a sovereign, it is in Rheumatism and its kindred affections. The most intense pains are almost immediately alleviated—enormous swellings are reduced. Cases, chronic or vicarious, of 20 or 30 years standing, have been cured by us.

NERVOUSNESS.

NERVOUS DEBILITY. SHATTERED NERVES. ST. VITUS' DANCE.
LOSS OF POWER. CONFUSION OF THOUGHTS. EPILEPSY.

Thousands who have suffered for years will bless the day on which they read these lines. Particularly to weak, suffering woman will this medicine prove an inestimable blessing—directing their footsteps to a Hope which fulfils more than it promises.

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SALIVATION. ROTTING OF BONES.
BAD COMPLEXION. ACHES IN BONES.
FEELING OF WEARINESS. DEPRESSION OF SPIRITS.

CONSTITUTION LIFE SYRUP purges the system entirely from all the evil effects of MERCURY, removing the Bad Breath, and curing the Weak Joints and Rheumatic Pains which the use of Calomel is sure to produce. It hardens Spongy Gums and secures the teeth as firmly as ever.

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eradicates, root and branch, all Eruptive Diseases of the Skin, like

ULCERS, PIMPLES, BLOTCHES,

and all other difficulties of this kind, which so much disfigure the outward appearance of both males and females, often making them a disgusting object to themselves and their friends.

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cures all Swelling of the Glands, either of the Face, Neck, or Female Breast, and should be taken as soon as the swelling is detected, thus preventing their breaking, and producing troublesome Discharging Sores, which disfigure so many of the younger portion of the community, from six to twenty years of age. Young children are very subject to Discharges from the Ears, which depends upon a Scrofulous constitution. These cases soon recover by taking a few doses of the Life Syrup.

Epileptic Fits, Sympathetic or Organic Diseases of the Heart, as Palpitation, Disease of the Valves, producing a grating or filing sound, Dropsy of the Heart Case and all the affections of this important organ (persons suffering from any acute pain in the region of the heart) will be greatly relieved by Constitution Life Syrup.

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Suffering from Indisposition to Exertion, Pain in the Back, Loss of Memory, Forebodings, Horror of Calamity, Fear of Disease, Dimness of Vision, Dry, Hot Skin and Extremities, Want of Sleep, Restlessness, Pale, Haggard Countenance, and Lassitude of the Muscular System, all require the aid of the CONSTITUTION LIFE SYRUP.

FOR ALL FORMS OF

ULCERATIVE DISEASES,

either of the Nose, Throat, Tongue, Spine, Forehead or Scalp, no remedy has ever proved its equal.

MOTH PATCHES upon the female face depending upon a diseased action of the Liver, are very unpleasant to the young wife and mother. A few bottles of Constitution Life Syrup will correct the secretion, and remove the deposit which is directly under the skin.

In Diseases of the Liver, giving rise to Languor, Dizziness, Indigestion, Weak Stomach, or an ulcerated or cancerous condition of that organ, accompanied with burning or other unpleasant symptoms, will be relieved by the use of CONSTITUTION LIFE SYRUP.

☞ As a general Blood-Purifying Agent, the Life Syrup stands unrivalled by any preparation in the world.

Diseases of the Spine, as usually developed in the young, Hip Disease, Neuralgia, and all Nervous Diseases, and Ladies who are suffering from Diseases for which they are at a loss to know what to do, we would advise the use of CONSTITUTION LIFE SYRUP. It will restore their pallid countenance, strengthen their weak back and side, give them new energy, new life and happiness.

THE RICH AND POOR

are liable to the same diseases. Nature and Science have made the Constitution Life Syrup for the benefit [illegible] all.

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produces healthy men and women; and if the constitution is neglected in youth, disease and early death is the result.

TO MOTHERS AND MARRIED LADIES.

It is the safest and most effectual medicine ever discovered for purifying the system and relieving the suffering attendant upon childbirth. It strengthens both the mother and the child, prevents pain and disease, and increases and enriches the food. Those who have used it think it indispensable. It is highly useful, both before and after confinement, as it prevents disease attendant upon childbirth.

WM. H. GREGG, M. D.,
Sole Proprietor, New York.
MORGAN & ALLEN,
Wholesale Druggists,
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THE GREAT STRENGTHENING TO
NOT A WHISKEY PREPARATION
H O O F L A N
GERMAN BITTER
WILL CURE
DEBILITY! DEBILITY!
Resulting from any cause whatever.
H
PROSTRATION OF THE SYSTE
INDUCED BY
SEVERE HARDSHIPS,
EXPOSURE,
OR
DISEASES OF CAMP L
SOLDIERS, CITIZENS, MALE OR FEMALE
YOUTH,
will find this Bitters a pure Tonic, not dependent
for their almost miraculous effects.
O
DYSPEPSIA,
AND DISEASES RESULTING FROM DISORD
LIVER AND DIGESTIVE
ARE CURED BY
HOOFLAND'S GERMAN BITT
This Bitters has performed more cures, give
has more testimony, has more respectable pe
for it, than any other article in the market.
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We defy any one to contradict this asser
WILL PAY $1,000
to any one who will produce a certificate publis
not genuine
HOOFLAND'S GERMAN BIT
WILL CURE EVERY CASE OF
CHRONIC OR NERVOUS DEB
AND
DISEASES OF THE KIDNE
F
Observe the following Symptoms, resulting fro
the Digestive Organs:
Constipation, Inward Piles, Fulness of Blood to t
ty of the Stomach, Nausea, Heartburn, Disgu
Fulness or Weight in the Stomach, Sour
tions, Sinking or Fluttering at the P
the Stomach, Swimming of the
Head, Hurried and Diffi-
cult Breathing,
Fluttering
at
the Heart,
Choking or Suffo-
cating Sensations when in
a lying posture, Dimness of Visio
Dots or Webs before the Sight, Fever
Dull Pain in the Head, Deficiency of Pe
Yellowness of the Skin and eyes, Pain in the
Chest, Limbs, etc., Sudden Flushes of Heat,
Flesh, Constant Imaginings of Evil, Great Depr
L
REMEMBER,
that this Bitters is not Alcoholic, contains no Ru
cannot make Drunkards, but is the Best Tonic in
READ WHO SAYS SO.
* * * * * *
[From the Rev. W. D. Seigfried, Pastor of
Church, Phil.]
Gentlemen: I have recently been laboring
ing effects of indigestion, accompanied by a
nervous system. Numerous remedies were
friends, and some of them tested, but without r
land's German Bitters were recommended by
tried them, and whose favorable mention o
me to try them. I must confess that I ha
Patent Medicines from the "thousand and
Bitters," whose only aim seem to be to palm
drugged liquor upon the community in a sly
tendency of which, I fear, is to make many a c
Upon learning that yours was really a medic
took it, with happy effect. Its action, not only
but upon the nervous system, was prompt and
that I have derived great and permanent bene
a few bottles.
Very respectfull
W. D. SEIGFRIED, No. 254
[From the Rev. E. D. Fendall, Assistant Edi
icle, Phil.]
I have derived decided benefit from the use
man Bitters, and feel it my privilege to rec
most valuable tonic, to all who are suffering f
ity or from diseases arising from derangemen
Yours truly,
[From Rev. D. Merrige, Pastor of
Church, Phil.]
From the many respectable recommendati
Hoofland's German Bitters, I was induced to
After using several bottles I found them to
debility, and a most excellent tonic for the
From Rev. Wm. Smith, formerly Pastor of
Millville (N. J.) Baptist Church
Having used in my family a number of
land's German Bitters, I have to say that I re
cellent medicine, specially adapted to re
are recommended for. They strength
tem when debilitated, and are useful in
loss of appetite, etc. I have also recom
of my friends, who have tried them, and
beneficial in the restoration of health.
Yours truly,
WILLI
982 Hutchin
[From the Rev. Joseph H. Kennard, Pastor
Church.]
I have been frequently requested to con
commendations of different kinds
the practice as out of my appropriate sphere
declined; but with a clear proof in various
and particularly in my own family, of the
German Bitters, I depart for once from my
press my full conviction that for
and especially for Liver Complaint
ration. In some cases it may fail
be very beneficial to those who suffer
Yours, very respectfully,
J. H. KENNARD, Eight
Philadelphia, Dec. 24, 1864.
Rev. J. S. Herman, of the German Refor
town, Berks county, Pa., was cured of Dysp
A. M. Spangler, Editor of the Cu
Philadelphia, says this Bitters has cured
friends, and six bottles cured him
Rev. J. Newton Brown, D.D., Editor of the
Religious Knowledge and Christian Ch
Rev. Thos. Winter, D.D., Pastor of Roxbo
Rev. Levi G. Beck, Pastor of the Baptist
N. J., formerly of the North Baptist Ch
Colonial Baptist Church, Chester, Pa.
These gentlemen express, in the str
ble opinion of these Bitters.
D
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☞ See that the signature of "C. M. JA
wrapper of each bottle.
☞ Should your nearest Druggist not have
be put off by any other of the intoxicating
be offered in its place, but send to us, and
ly packed, by express.
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